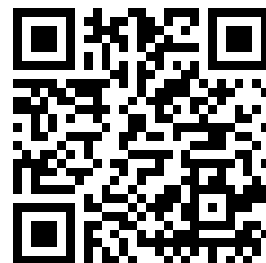


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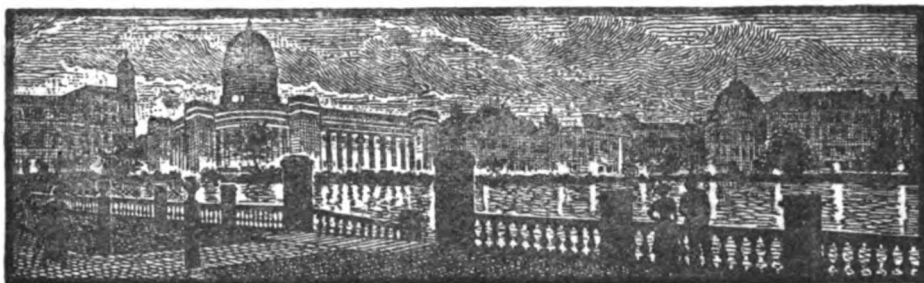
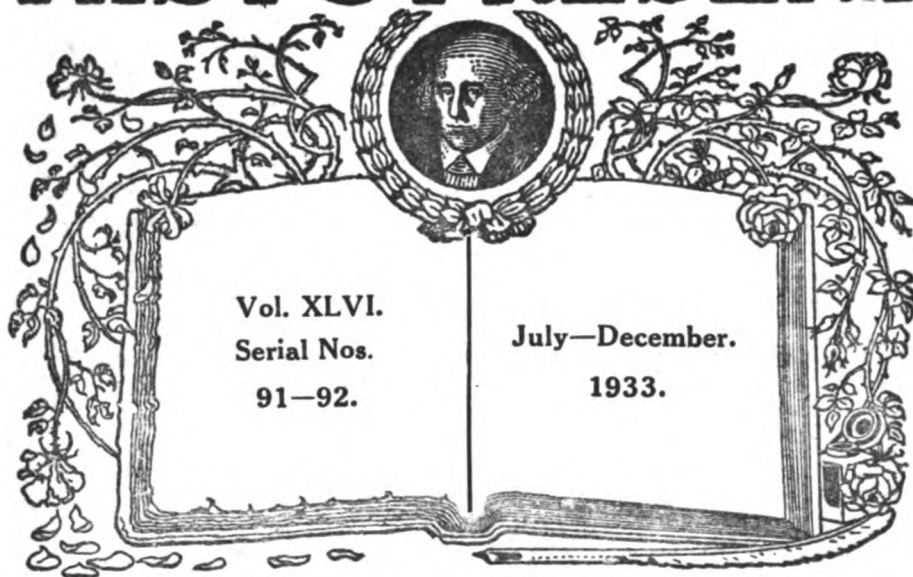
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# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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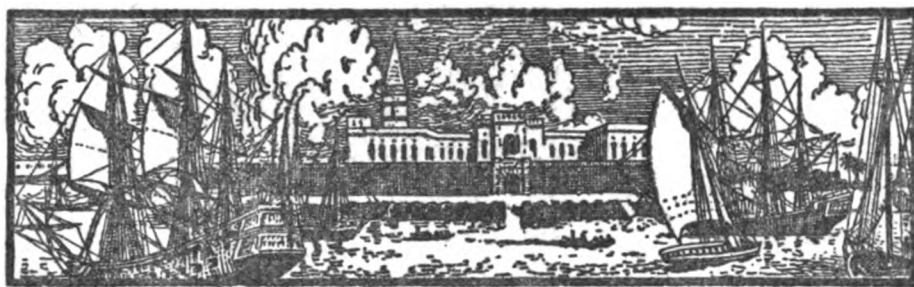
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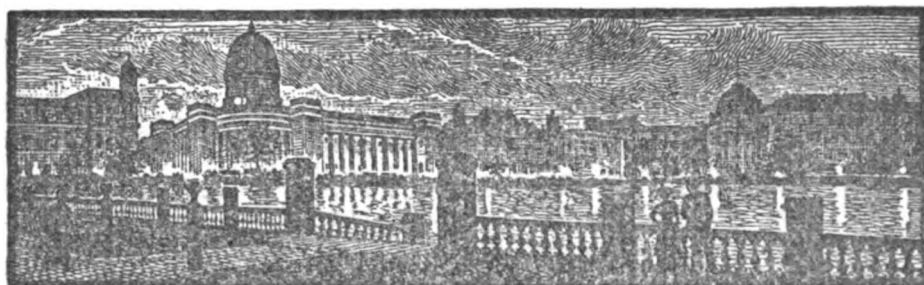
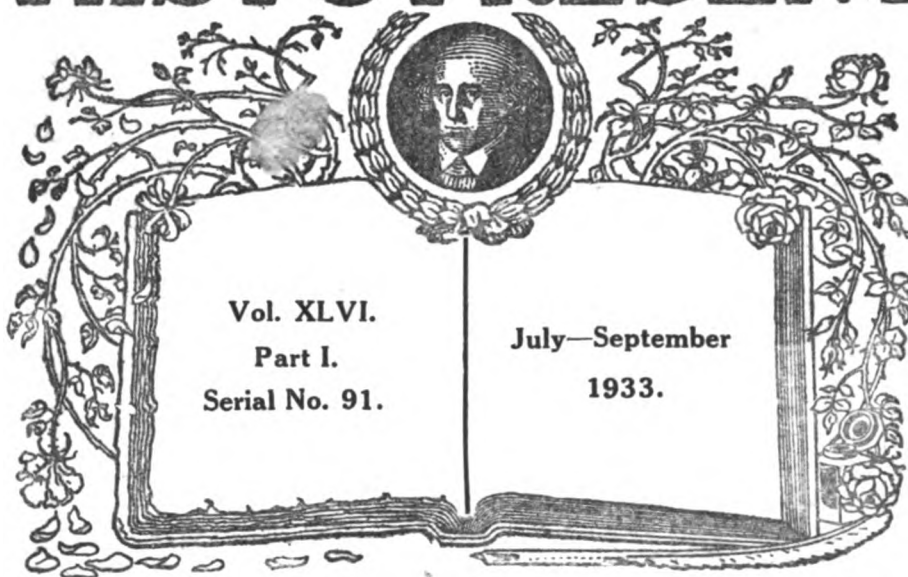
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## “The Mission of Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings to Mir Qasim.”

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IT was after removing his seat of government to Monghyr that the Nawab seriously turned his attention to the subject of the private inland trade of the Company's servants, and began making almost daily complaints (1) about the right of the latter to trade duty-free. Up till now the Nawab had not made his protests so vehemently, but his tone appears to have undergone a perceptible change after the transference of his headquarters from Murshidabad to Monghyr. In fact, he had, and this is usually overlooked, determined not to allow the private trade of the English merchants on any footing whatsoever. That he took definite steps to stop this trade is clear from the following facts:—

(i) Not long after the Nawab's arrival at Monghyr, his officers in the various districts began, ostensibly under the Nawab's orders, to stop the boats belonging to the English merchants inspite of there being, 'dastaks' with them. This harassment was reported to be due to the Nawab's demand of duties even from the Company's servants. The Chief and Council at Dacca wrote in their letter dated October 8, 1762, "At every Chokey our boats are stopped, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt." (2) The Chief and Council at Chittagong similarly wrote in their letter, dated October 14, 1762, "Our business is entirely put to a stop to, by the Nabob's people, and our boats not suffered to pass the Chokeys, the zamindars demanding very considerable duties to be paid them, declaring that they have orders from Cossim Allee Cawn so to do (3)." The Chiefs and Council at Lakhimpur made (4) the very same complaint in the following words, "Within these few days, every boat which we have sent out of the river has been stopped at the different Chokeys, notwithstanding they have the Chiefs' 'dustuck' ". In short, such complaints were received from every district. The Faujdar of Katwa was at this time reported to have stopped 150 boats belonging to the English gentlemen, notwithstanding that these bore the Company's 'dastack' (5). All these, therefore, clearly indicate the Nawab's settled policy to put a stop to the duty-free trade of the Company's servants.

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(1) Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 97.

(2) Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1762.

(3) Beng. Pub. Cons. Nov. 1, 1762.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Trans. P. L. I. 1762 Nos. 130, 131 & 133 (p. 25 and pp. 69-70).

(ii) Not only were the boats stopped for the exaction of duties, but all sorts of obstruction to the Company's trade came to be reported (6). Ellis complained of the interference of the local Amil with the weavers and bleachers in their business at Jahanabad (7). The Chiefs of Dacca, Lakhipur, and Chittagong also drew the attention of the Council at Calcutta to the unprecedented ill-treatment of their subordinates, and Mr. Vansittart formally protested against it to the Naib, and the Faujdar of Dacca more than once (8). The Chief and Council at Dacca further represented (9) in their letter, dated October 8, 1862, " . . . . Muchulcas have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English." This statement is borne out by the author of the *Muzaffar-Namah*, who too states (10) that the Nawab's 'ziladars' were instructed to direct the 'ryots' not to have any dealings with the English. The Nawab must have supposed that by this means he would be able to hamper the private trade of the English, and force them ultimately to pay the regular duties.

(iii) The practice of the Company's servants to issue 'dastaks' indiscriminately was galling to the Nawab, and he wanted to get it abolished. Early in August, 1762, he wrote to the Governor complaining that too many people had begun issuing 'dastaks' (11) whereupon the Governor informed him (12), on September 3, that the gentlemen who had been authorised to issue 'dastaks' were Mr. Batson of Cossimbazar, Mr. Cartier of Dacca, Mr. Billiers of Lakhipur, Mr. Verelst of Islamabad, Mr. Ellis of Patna, and Mr. Gray of Malda. It was just this information which the Nawab needed, because he was bent upon putting down the circulation of the dastaks issued by all other English merchants (13).

(iv) That the Nawab suddenly multiplied the number of customs stations in the country is a significant step. They were not only to be a source of additional income to the Government, but were specially intended to be an effective impediment to the private trade of the English. New stations were established in places where there had been none before, and although the Governor had earnestly requested (14) the Nawab to close these new 'Chaukis' no heed seems to have been paid to it. Besides stationing additional 'Chaukis', the Nawab augmented the force at every customs station so that the English boats might be systematically stopped (15).

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(6) Third Report, 1773, pp. 335-36.

(7) Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1762, Tans. P.L.I. 1762. No. 141, p. 75.

(8) Vansittart's Narrative II, p. 127 and Trans. P.L.I. 1762, Nos. 142, 144, 145, pp. 75-77.

(9) Beng. Pub. Cons. Oct. 18, 1762.

(10) *Muzaffar-Namah* (Alld. Univ. MS., pp. 333).

(11) Abs. P.L.R. 1759-65, p. 14.

(12) Trans. P.L.I. 1762, No. 128, p. 68.

(13) "A defence of Mr. Vansittart's conduct in concluding the treaty of commerce with Mhir Cossim Aly Chawn". By a servant of the company long resident in Bengal, 1764, p. 9.

(14) Trans. P.L.I., 1761, No. 429, p. 247.

(15) Beng. Pub. Cons., Nov. 1, 1762.

While the Company's servants loudly protested against this deliberate and sudden obstruction to their private trade, the Nawab made equally bitter complaints against their highhandedness, and that of their 'gumashtahs'. New charges were brought against them by the Nawab, and these may be thus summarised:—

(i) The Nawab wrote (16) to the Governor in May, 1762, "And this is the way your gentlemen behave, they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants, with a resolution to expose my government to contempt; and from the borders of Hindostan to Calcutta, make it their business to expose me to scorn". It is too sweeping a charge to deserve any elaborate examination, and is a characteristic instance of the Nawab's exaggerated denunciations.

(ii) The recent increase in the number of the Company's factories was bitterly criticised by the Nawab in the following words (17). "Near four, or five hundred new factories have been established in my dominions, and it is impossible to express what disturbances are made in every factory, and how the inhabitants are oppressed". The addition of factories was due partly to the increasing volume of the private trade of the English, and the Governor in his letter (18) to the Nawab, dated April 23, 1762, rightly argued that commerce had lately increased owing to greater security, and that the prosperity of the country would be still further enhanced by this increasing trade. The Nawab agreed with the Governor, and replied, "It is true that by the flourishing of trade, and the free intercourse of merchants, a country is rendered populous" (19). That inspite of this admission, he went on complaining against the increase in the number of factories was due to his innate hatred of the privileged position of the English merchants.

(iii) The rapacity of the company's 'gumashtahs' was the most serious charge. There is, however, sufficient evidence to prove that they did flagrantly abuse (20) the authority and protection of their inexperienced, or ignorant masters. The Nawab wrote about the gumashtahs, as follows, ". . . the gomastahs who have gone into the country on the part of your gentlemen, regardless of what any one says to them, insolently use violent means to carry on their traffick, and whenever a gunge, or golah has been established, they act as zemindars, taalookdars, and renters, and leave my officers no authority; and besides this, they send other people's goods with their own, under the protection of their dustucks" (21). This allegation was substantially correct. In fact, the 'gumashtahs' were generally a set of the worst rascals

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(16) Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 13; Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 97-102.

(17) Ibid.

(18) Trans. P.L.I., 1762, No. 65, p. 39.

(19) Narrative, II, p. 102.

(20) Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th Jan. 1763 (vide letter from Ganga Ram Mittra to Mr. Taxeira). Beng. Pub. Cons., 1st Feb. 1763 (vide letter from Vansittart to Johnstone, Hay, Bolts, dated Dec. 15, 1762) and Beng. Pub. Cons., Oct. 18, 1762 (Vide letters from the Nawab, Hidayatullah, and Muhammad Ali).

(21) Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 102.

whose oppressive conduct was an open scandal. Their masters usually supported them because they believed that their agents had to commit acts of violence in self-defence on account of the opposition of the Nawab's people. Assured of sympathy and assistance, the English agents practised the worst tyranny wherever they went. They forced the ryots to sell their goods below the market rate, and purchase the commodities they had brought at an exorbitant price(22). They forcibly exacted large presents from the people, and thus plundered them under this pretence. They sold dastaks to private merchants at a price (23), and the latter thus freely evaded the payment of the duties. Sergeant Brego who had been sent (24) to Backergunje by the Governor to arrest the gumashtahs accused of having created disturbances wrote (25) on May 25, 1762, "A gentleman sends a gomastah here to buy or sell ; he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods, or sell him theirs, and on refusal a flogging, or confinement immediately ensues. . . . Before justice was given in the public cutcherree, but now every gomastah is become a judge, and every one's house a cutcherree ; they even pass sentences on the zemindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries. . . ." The Faujdar of Dacca wrote (26) to the Governor in September 1762, " . . . the gomastahs of Luckypoor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants etc., to take tobacco, cotton, iron, and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazaar, and then exort the money from them by force ; besides which they take diet money for the peons, and make them pay a fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings, the aurangs and other places are ruined. The gomastahs of Luckypoor factory have taken the taalookdars' taalooks from the tahsildar by force for their own use, and will not pay the rent. By these disturbances the country is ruined, and the reiat's can not stay in their houses, nor pay the malguzarree". The Amil of Purnea similarly complained against the gumashtahs, and represented that the latter impeded the public business (27). Mr. Hastings while on his way to Sasseram wrote to the Governor from Bhagalpur on April 25, 1762(28), "I beg leave to lay before you a grievance which calls loudly for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm or lasting harmony between the Nawab and the Company ; I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name. . . . This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habits of our sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs". Mr. Verelst observes(29), "English agents, or gomastahs, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of the

(22) Ibid., p. 104, and Beng. Pub. Cons., Feb. 1, 1763.

(23) Verelst's "A view of English Government in Bengal", p. 8.

(24) Trans. P.L.I., 1762, No. 109, p. 58.

(25) Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th Oct. 1762.

(26) Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 32.

(27) Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 31.

(28) Gleig's memoir, I, p. 107.

(29) Verelst's "A view of English Government in Bengal", p. 46.



government, binding and punishing the Nabob's officers, wherever they presumed to interfere". In short, it is clear that the insolent tyranny of the gumashtahs, exaggerated though it might have been, was a fact, and it was due to a number of reasons.

In the first place, they were often obliged to have recourse to violence in defence of their privileges in those distant parts of the province where the Nawab's government had not been well established (30). In the second place, a number of clever merchants fraudulently posed as the company's agents in the interior of the country (31), and carried on their nefarious activities simply under the protection of the Company's name. In the third place, the complaints made against themselves were represented by the agents to their credulous masters as a deliberate obstruction to their business, and were therefore invariably disregarded by the latter (32). In the fourth place, they had at their disposal the armed sepoys of the factories, and thus could defy the Nawab's officials, or the subordinates of the zemindars (33). In the fifth place, as Mr. Hastings put it, "... the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance, to the great, though unmerited scandal of our government" (34). In the sixth place, it was not unusual for a young writer to be engaged in a joint trade (35) with these crafty gumashtahs who supplied the capital, and gave a share of the profits to their sleeping partners whose only duty was to issue dastaks. Sure of the support of their English partners who were obviously dominated by their clever agents, the latter could safely tyrannise over the ryots, and weavers, and coerce the public servants. The Nawab complained that these gumashtahs even refused to show their dastaks to his officials out of sheer arrogance (36). In the seventh place, the gumashtahs had sometimes to take the law into their own hands, when the Nawab's officials who were perfectly aware of their master's animosity against the English merchants maliciously obstructed them in their business. Cases of such unwarranted interference by the Nawab's officials were certainly not infrequent, and were regularly brought to the notice of the Nawab (37).

(iv) Another ground of complaint against the gentlemen of the factories was their practice of giving loans to the zemindars or to the "mutasaddis" of the Nawab. The latter strongly urged (38) the Governor to stop this practice as it impeded the work of revenue collection. The Nawab particularly criticised the attitude of the gentlemen at Dacca, who had been alleged to

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(30) Mr. Vansittart himself admits this fact, (Narrative, II, p. 151).

(31) Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor (Narrative, II, p. 80).

(32) Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th Oct. 1762.

(33) Letter from the Faujdar of Dacca, Abs., P.L.R., 1759-65, p. 15.

(34) Gleig's memoir, I, p. 108.

(35) "A defence of Mr. Vansittart's conduct", p. 9.

(36) Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 7, p. 6.

(37) Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 147-50; Trans. P.L.R., 1762, Nos. 141 & 142; Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th Oct. & 1st Nov. 1762.

(38) Abs. P.L.R., 1759-65, pp. 14-15; Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 17, 1763.

have obstructed the collection of revenue by sending their men to the aid of the zemindars (39).

(v) The next argument against the English merchants was that they had begun to rent markets, or 'golas', and establish new ones by force. This was true to a certain extent only, and was often due to the instigation of the gumashtahs. The Nawab particularly complained against Mr. Chevalier of Dacca who was reported to have oppressed the people by forcibly establishing new markets, factories, and 'chaukis' (40).

(vi) Finally, the Nawab took exception to the English merchants trading in certain articles like salt, tobacco, etc., which he referred to as a breach of the Company's firman (41). In fact, the whole of the private trade of the Company's servants was suddenly regarded by the Nawab as an unauthorised and illegal innovation.

At length, the disputes arising out of the private trade of the English gentlemen became so serious and frequent that a rupture between the Nawab and the Company seemed to be imminent. Complaints, and counter-complaints from the officers of the government, and the gentlemen of the factories fast multiplied. The only alternative to a war with the Nawab was a compromise which would be mutually acceptable, and a compromise could be reached only through a personal interview between the Nawab, and Mr. Vansittart. The latter therefore decided to pay a visit to the Nawab at Monghyr, and settle the points at issue amicably. He had also been lately anxious to obtain a change of air after his recent illness (42), and so he readily accepted the pressing invitation of the Nawab to come to Monghyr (43). "I flattered myself", Mr. Vansittart writes (44), "this would prove an effectual method of re-establishing a confidence between us, putting an end to the disputes, which had arisen, and providing a plan for the security of the provinces against foreign enemies". With Mr. Hastings as his assistant he set out from Calcutta on the 20th October, and after staying for a few days at Murshidabad, he arrived at Monghyr on the 30th of November, 1762 (45). The Governor was accorded a magnificent reception by the Nawab who went to receive his honoured guests at the garden of Goodergatta (about six miles from Monghyr), and with the utmost honour escorted them to the town, where a splendid building on the hill of Sita-kund, and a number of fine tents were set apart for their residence (46). Then followed ceremonial visits, and grand entertainments almost every day. The Nawab offered costly

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 15.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 14 and *Narrative*, II, p. 117.

(41) *Narrative*, II, p. 142.

(42) *Narrative*, II, p. 130.

(43) The Nawab had sent his invitation early in June, but Mr. Vansittart had to postpone his departure. *Trans. P.L.I.*, 1762, No. 99, p. 54.

(44) *Narrative*, II, p. 130.

(45) *Ibid.*, p. 144. "Thursday of Zamadiul Awwal 1176" according to Siyar, (Lucknow Text, p. 715). "Fifth of Zamadiul Awwal" according to Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.V., p. 606).

(46) Siyar, p. 716.

presents to his guest who too complimented the former with some rich presents that he had brought with him (47). The festivities organised in honour of the guest were on a sumptuous scale, and Mr. Vansittart and his party were treated "with all the usual marks of respect and friendship" (48). The principal topic of conversation was the Nawab's complaints against the alleged ill-treatment that he had received from Mr. Ellis and others. The Nawab next complained of the abuses of the private trade of the English gentlemen (49). The points specially stressed by him were as follows:—

(1) The private trade of the Company's servants was not covered by the Firmans of the Company ;

(2) His administration was adversely affected by this trade owing to difficulty in maintaining law and order in the country ;

(3) He was suffering a heavy loss in his custom duties ;

(4) Under the protection of the Company's name, innumerable persons passed their goods duty-free ;

(5) The prestige of his government suffered on account of the irregularities of this trade ;

(6) The Company's gumashtahs, and servants oppressed the people ; and

(7) The gentlemen of the factories held farms, 'taalluqs', 'ganjs', and 'golas' borrowed from and lent to his people, afforded protection to his dependents ; coined money at different places, and used force in the purchase and sale of goods.

Mr. Vansittart's position was very delicate. He did not like to offend his friend, and he had avowedly come to bring about a compromise. The Nawab, however, demanded the total abolition of the private trade of the English gentlemen, but this the Governor had no authority to assent to without the concurrence of the Council (50). "Although I was of the same opinion", Mr. Vansittart writes (51), with the Nawab as to the rights of the firman, that they could not be construed to extend further than the trade in articles imported by shipping, and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation ; yet I was unwilling to give up an advantage which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants in a greater, or less degree for five, or six years ; and therefore told the Nawab that as to the inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country, in the articles of the produce of the country we meant only to carry it on upon the same footing with other merchants". Obviously the Governor played into the hands of the Nawab in yielding on the point of the duties, and agreeing to surrender the right of the Company's servants to trade duty-free. That he wanted to placate

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(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid. and Narrative, II, p. 141.

(49) Narrative, II, pp. 142-144; Siyar, p. 716; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.V., p. 607); Muzaffar Namah (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 336; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. MS.), p. 780; Vansittart's "Letter to the Proprietors of East India Stock", p. 80; Verelst's "A view of English Government in Bengal", p. 37.

(50) Narrative, II, p. 143.

(51) Ibid.

the stubborn Nawab is easy to understand (52), and the reasons why he thought himself justified (53) in acquiescing in the settlement regarding the payment of duties can be gleaned from his "Narrative":—

(i) "We agree with the Nawab in opinion that the true intent and natural meaning of the firmaun granted to the Company was to give to them, and their servants a free trade, clear of all customs, in all articles of commerce, to be imported, or exported by shipping(54) ;

(ii) "It is a fact that the Nabobs of these provinces did formerly restrain the Europeans (55) from carrying on this trade upon any footing. . . ."

(iii) "We think it would be unreasonable to desire to carry on the inland trade upon any other footing than that of the merchants of the country. . . ."(56).

(iv) " . . . . I thought I was doing a great service to the English merchants by establishing a right to a trade which had always before been disputed. . . ."(57).

(v) " . . . . I agreed with the Nabob that the rate of duties should be nine per cent on the prime cost . . . . I found this to be below the rate already paid at Luckypoor . . . . "(58).

Mr. Vansittart went to the length of agreeing (59) to all the other proposals of the Nawab :—

(1) The Chief of the factories should be instructed not to oppress the ryots, and protect his dependents ;

(2) The Faujdars should be permitted to try any offending gumashtah ;

(3) The Chiefs of Chittagong and Lakhipur must not work the salt-pans themselves ;

(4) The Chiefs and gumashtahs of the factories should not rent, or purchase any lands, nor lend to and borrow from the zemindars, and officers of the government ;

(5) The Chiefs and gumashtahs should not obstruct the 'dallals' and weavers of the government ;

(6) The bullion of the English gentlemen and gumashtahs should not be coined in the Patna, the Murshidabad, and the Dacca mints, and payment of the usual 'battah' according to the market rate should be made to the money-changer ; and

(52) Letter from Vansittart to Council, Dec. 15, 1762 (Third Report, app. 32, pp. 340-41, 1773.)

(53) "A Defence of Mr. Vansittart's Conduct", p. 12.

(54) Narrative, II, p. 151.

(55) Ibid., p. 153.

(56) Narrative, II, p. 159.

(57) Narrative, II, p. 162.

(58) Narrative, II, p. 163.

(59) Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th Jan. 1763; Trans. P.L.R., Jan., Sept. 1763, No. 1, pp. 1-3; vide also the Governor's minute embodied in the Pub. Dept. Proceedings, dated Feb. 1, 1763

(7) The gumashtahs at Gwalparah should not deal directly with the hill-men, and must make all their purchases and sales through 'daroghah' of the 'Sarkar'.

In due course, Mr. Vansittart proposed (60) a number of regulations for settling the manner of carrying on the inland trade upon a satisfactory footing, and these were accepted by the Nawab after a show of reluctance. These regulations can be thus summed up:—

1st. Only the export, or import trade of the company shall be duty-free.

2nd. For the inland trade the Company's dastak shall not be granted.

3rd. Duties should be paid according to the fixed rate on all goods meant for the inland trade.

4th. Duties shall be paid only once before the despatch of goods.

5th. These goods shall not be detained after the dastak has been examined by the 'Chaukidars'.

6th. Notice shall be given to the nearest English factory as well as to the nearest officer of the government in case one attempts to pass goods without a dastak, or fraudulently uses the Company's dastak, and the goods shall be confiscated.

7th. If any body attempts to pass goods without dastak under the care of other boats having a dastak, it shall be seized.

8th. The gumashtahs shall not use force in buying or selling, and shall bring all their complaints to the Faujdars instead of taking the law into their own hands.

9th. The Faujdars shall transmit to the Nawab copies of their proceedings, and the Governor shall be free to apply to the Nawab for redress in case any Faujdar is found guilty of partiality, or oppression.

Mr. Vansittart's attempt to regulate the inland trade according to the above plan was certainly well-meaning, and logical, but his policy is open to grave objections. Firstly, he showed great imprudence in divulging his plan to the Nawab before discussing it in the Council. It is strange that he did not anticipate the natural opposition of his colleagues against his proposals. Secondly, he was mistaken (61) in believing that he had been fully authorised to make even fundamental changes on behalf of the Council. Thirdly, he should not have assured the Nawab that the proposed regulations would certainly be established. The promise (62) made by him to the Nawab was both hasty and tactless. Fourthly, he unwisely acquiesced in the Nawab's desire to control the gumashtahs and other subordinates of the country through his Faujdars. He should have realised that it was too

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(60) Narrative, II, pp. 155-159; Trans. P.L.I., 1762-3, No. 4, p. 9; Beng. Pub. Cons., Dec. 27, 1762; Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 20, 1763.

(61) Beng. Pub. Cons., Nov. 15, 1762. The Council in their letter to the Governor may be said to have only vaguely requested him to settle "these matters upon a solid plan".

(62) Narrative, II, p. 163; Siyar, p. 716; Tarikh-i-muzaffari, p. 780 (MS.).

dangerous a concession to be tolerated by his colleagues. Fifthly, he was unjustified in yielding to the Nawab's objections in regard to the coinage of the Company's 'siccās' at the different mints, the manufacture of salt, the holding of markets, the purchase of lands, the trade in Assam, and such other vital matters without insisting on a thorough investigation, and consultation with the gentlemen concerned (63). Sixthly, he did not satisfactorily settle how the Company's trade could be distinguished from that of its servants. Undue interference of the Nawab's officers in the Company's trade was henceforth not unlikely (64). Finally, he committed a serious blunder in accepting (65) a monetary gift from the Nawab. He thus courted the criticism that he had willingly sacrificed the rights of the Englishmen on receipt of a substantial bribe. As a matter of fact, the money that the Governor now received was the present promised by the Nawab before the revolution.

The Governor's visit to Monghyr is of interest from another point of view. He could observe at first hand the remarkable change in the whole spirit of the Nawab's government. Mir Qasim was a changed (66) man, and he was no longer submissive and conciliatory. His attitude was perceptibly dictatorial, and the Governor failed to perceive that the Nawab had been aiming at complete independence (67). Mr. Vansittart was given an opportunity to witness a grand parade of the Nawab's troops, which the latter had purposely arranged to make an ostentatious exhibition of his military strength (68). The new army organised under the command of Gurgin Khan extorted the admiration of the Governor (69). The whole force of the Nawab at present consisted of about sixteen thousand horse, and a few battalions of Sepoys (70). Ghulam Husain has left a vivid description of the parade, and the Governor's views regarding the troops. According to him (71), the Governor expressed his opinion about the army in the following terms, "I have seen your troops, and acknowledge that you have accoutred and disciplined them very well ; but these are only good against Indians, and people of this climate. Beware of ever opposing them to Europeans, or of coming to a rupture with the English, upon a confidence reposed in your people ; for rest assured that you shall find yourself

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(63) Beng. Pub. Cons., Jan. 17, 1763, vide letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca, dated Jan. 10, 1763.

(64) Interference was immediately reported from different places, and the Governor had to complain of it in his letters to the Nawab. Trans. P.L.I., 1762-3, Nos. 7-9, pp. 10-13.

(65) Select Committee Report, 1772, I (2) App. 80. Third Report, 1773, p. 311. He had received Rs. 500,000 for himself, and Rs. 200,000 for Caillaud. (First Report, Vol. II, p. 161. Caillaud's evidence). He had further allowed two ladies in his company to visit the Nawab's harem, and accept presents of valuable jewels.

(66) Muzaffar-namah (MS), p. 336.

(67) Ibid. and Bolts, "Considerations on Indian Affairs", p. 42.

(68) Siyar, p. 716.

(69) Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.V., p. 607).

(70) Narrative, II, p. 185.

(71) Siyar, (English Translation Calcutta Reprint, II, p. 444) vide also Tarikh-i-muzaffari MS., p. 779.

disappointed, and that these men will never stand the brunt of European soldiers. Beware, therefore, of trusting your honour to such hands". Kalyan Singh too has given a similar account (72). Did Mr. Vansittart suspect that these troops might be used against the English (73)?

Before returning to Calcutta, the Governor went to Patna where he arrived on 1st January, 1763. Here he had to decide among other things two outstanding questions regarding the Burbunna gate, and the Colonelganj. The Burbunna gate in the north-west quarter of the city had been closed under the orders of the Nawab, and Ellis had long complained of it; while the Colonelganj was a market near the English factory set up apparently without any sanction either from the Nawab, or from the Company, and it had so far been a continual source of disputes with the Nawab's government. The Governor complied with the wishes of the Nawab, agreed that the gate should remain shut up, and gave instructions for the abolition of the market. On January 4, he wrote to the Naib at Patna, "Agreeably to your desire, I have directed Mr. Ellis to abolish Colonel Gunge, and accordingly orders have, from this day, been given to the merchants not to bring their goods there any more; . . . . as to the shutting the wicket, though there does not appear to be any great necessity for it, and the going round about will be an inconvenience to the people of the factory, nevertheless, as it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you please, nobody will obstruct you (74)." Although, there were only minor points, yet they serve to illustrate the Governor's characteristic acquiescence in whatever the Nawab insisted upon. In yielding to the Nawab's wishes, the Governor took hardly any serious notice at all of the objections of Ellis. In fact, there were a number of cogent arguments (75) against the shutting of the gate:—

(i) The servants of the factory were put to needless inconvenience, and were deprived of an easy access to the city;

(ii) The Nawab's plea that the gate must be closed in the interest of good order in the city was hollow, and there was no reason why it should be shut up even in the day time;

(iii) The Gate had been kept open for more than twenty year past, and there was no immediate necessity for closing it now, besides it was of no advantage to the Nawab himself;

(iv) The Gate had been used by the people of the factory for a long time past, and it was by this way that they could easily come to the city for its assistance at the time of the Shahzadah's attack;

(v) The closing of the gate created a false alarm, and it was rumoured that there no longer existed any friendship between the Nawab and the Company.

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(72) *Khulasat* (J.B.O.R.S.V., p. 607).

(73) Although the *Siyar* seems to suggest this, Mr. Vansittart does not say anything about it in his *Narrative*.

(74) *Trans. P.L.I.* 1762-3, No. 2, p. 4.

(75) *Beng. Pub. Cons.* 17th Feb., 1763. *Trans. P.L.I.* 1762-3, No. 24, p. 25.

(vi) Unless the Nawab meant to strengthen the town against the factory itself, there was no point in his safeguarding that part of the town which was closest to the factory ;

(vii) The closing of the gate could be of no use for the security of the town against a foreign enemy ;

(viii) The Nawab's action in closing the gate, and ordering the intrenchment by the river way was due more to pique against Ellis than to any other reason, and finally,

(ix) The prestige of the Company had suffered owing to the shutting up of the gate, as the Nawab's action seemed to be clerally indicative of his distrust of the English.

The market too being close to the factory had been very useful to its people, and its abolition would cause real difficulty in the regular and cheap supply of provisions (76). The Governor, therefore, requested the Naib to allow Ellis to build some 'golas' for storing 20,000 maunds of grain for the use of the factory (77). The Naib was, however, subsequently reported to have stopped all boats going to, and coming from Colonganj under the instructions of the Nawab, and the Governor had to protest against this (78). Ellis further complained. "The encouragement given Nobit Roy on this occasion has induced him to seize, and carry away by force all the dealers of this gunge, to detain boats loaded with our own particular property having dustucks, and to send the Chief word that he will not suffer a further importation of grain. He has likewise publicly punished those boatmen who have been long employed in this service, and made proclamations through the city, that whoever brings grain to the English shall be treated in the same manner . . . ." (79). As this was a grave charge, a strong letter was written to the Nawab on the subject (80). The latter in his reply ridiculed the charge, and rejected it as a malicious lie concocted by Ellis (81). On the whole, it was tactless on the part of the Governor when he readily complied with the desire of the Nawab in the matter of the gate, and the market. The hostile majority in the Council forced him (82). Subsequently he wrote to the Nawab asking him to order the opening of the gate, although the decision in regard to the market was unanimously approved (83). The Nawab was ultimately obliged to direct the gate and the intrenchment at Patna to be opened (84).

The Governor left Patna on January 5, and stopped at Monghyr for a day to see the Nawab, and left Monghyr on the 9th for Calcutta (85). His

(76) Beng. Pub. Cons. 18th Feb., 1763.

(77) Trans. P.L.I. 1762-3 No. 2.

(78) Ibid, No. 14.

(79) Beng. Pub. Cons. 18th Feb., 1763.

(80) Trans. P.L.I. 1762-3, No. 25.

(81) Trans. P.L.R. Jan-Sept., 1763, No. 13, p. 12.

(82) Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb., 19, 1763.

(83) Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb., 19, 1763.

(84) Trans. P.L.R. Jan-Sept., 1763, No. 19, p. 19.

(85) Narrative, p. 184, and p. 187.



mission to Monghyr had been actuated by good intentions, but he failed to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the points at issue. By imprudently proposing the ill-fated regulations, and thus arousing the wrath of his colleagues whom he had not previously consulted (86), he only hastened the inevitable rupture with the Nawab.

NANDLAL CHATTERJI.

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(86) Vide Letter from Carnac to Clive, dated 26th Feb., 1763 (Malcolm's Life of Clive II, p. 283) Carnac wrote, "These concessions are so evidently shameful and disadvantageous to us, that it is not to be conceived they could ever have been submitted to, except by persons who were bought into them....."

## Events Leading to the Ambela Expedition 1863.

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About the year 1823, one of those famous saintly adventurers made his appearance on the Yusafzai frontier, who have at all times managed to beguile the credulous and simple Pathan race for their own ends, and have been the means of creating discord, upheaving society, and fomenting rebellions, which have been checked and crushed with the utmost difficulty. This man was Syed Ahmed Shah of Bareilly. At one period of his life he was the companion-in-arms of the celebrated Amir Khan Pindari, who was himself a Pathan, born in the valley of Buner. Syed Ahmed studied Arabic at Delhi and then proceeded to Mecca by way of Calcutta. It was during this journey that his doctrines obtained the ascendancy over the minds of the Mahomedans of Bengal, which has ever since led them to supply their colony at Sittana with fresh recruits. It was in 1824 that the adventurer arrived by way of Kandahar and Kabul amongst the Yusafzai tribes of the Peshawar border, with about forty Hindustani followers (1).

Syed Ahmad came at a happy moment, for it was just the time to raise the spirits of the Yusafzais and other Pathans (which had been lowered by the crushing defeat they and the Peshawar Sardars had received from Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the battle of Nowshera), by religious exhortation. He easily gathered recruits ; and meanwhile his own following had been swelled to some nine hundred by malcontents and fanatics from Bengal (2).

In 1827 he sallied out to lay siege to Attock, but after a slight preliminary success was utterly defeated by the Sikhs ; and he then fled with a few companions to Swat, and gradually worked his way back through Buner to Yusafzai. With full faith in his miraculous powers the Pathans again assembled round him, and in a two years' career of conquest he gathered the whole of Yusafzai under his control. Unfortunately the holy man's love of money made his rule so oppressive that the Pathans rose against him and drove him across the Indus, where, after a stubborn battle against the Sikhs, he was overpowered and slain (3).

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(1) Punjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Punjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

Of his disciples who escaped with their lives, a portion found their way to Sittana, on the Mahaban mountain, some fifty miles above Attock on the right bank of the Indus. There they settled down to the depredation of the lower lands and the kidnapping and murder of peaceful traders on the highways, receiving occasional recruits and even subsidies from lower Bengal (4).

The first collision of the British with them occurred in 1853, when the fanatics had abetted an offending tribe in hostilities against the former, boasting loudly of their prowess, but had fled precipitately before two Sikh regiments. Being then left alone, they returned to their evil ways and brought upon themselves a second punitive expedition under General Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858 (5). Cotton attacked Sittana itself, inflicting severe loss on the troublesome Hindustanis, who fought doggedly and well; but it was felt at the time that the penalty exacted from them was insufficient. Two neighbouring tribes (Gadun and Utmanzai) had engaged themselves to prevent the fanatics from re-occupying Sittana; so the latter built themselves a new village at Malka, some eleven miles to the north-west of their old settlement and on the northern slope of the Mahaban (6).

But in 1861 they came down to a place named Siri, just over-hanging their old haunt at Sittana, and commenced sending robbers into Hazara to carry off Hindu traders (7). The offence of the Gaduns was that, in

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Vide Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes's letter No. B of the 14th May, 1858, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, reporting the result of the operations of the force under Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858 against Punjtar and the Sittana fanatics. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

(6) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546 dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

(7) The nature of these outrages is thus described by Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, in a dispatch: No. 165, dated September 11, 1863: "A trader loads his mules at one of our chief towns, and starts across country (though there have been extreme cases of the offence taking place on the high-road) to a village he hopes to reach by nightfall. On the road, in some lonely spot, he is seized, gagged, and taken aside into the jungle or some mountain nook, and there kept close under drawn swords till dark, when the whole party starts by well-known, but unfrequented, tracks to the mountainous river-board, where according to one of Major Adams' informants, the victim is inserted into an inflated skin, and a brigand, mounting on it, ferries him over. Whatever the plan adopted, the unfortunate is whisked across the Indus, and when once over is fairly safe till his relations pay up the required ransom. His danger lies in the day dawning, or other obstruction occurring, before the kidnapping party reach the Indus, in which case the encumbrance, in the shape of a gagged idolator, must be got rid of. They would let him go if they could afford it, but his tongue will needs wag and describe locality and route, and, perhaps, recognise individuals; and so he is knocked on the head, and thrown into a mountain crevice."

Of the difficulties of exercising any preventive measures against these acts, the Commissioner observes in the same dispatch that, "From the nature of the country it has been found impossible to deal with these acts merely by protective police arrangements. The actors are bold men, and actuated by a thirst for money for the actual needs of life, sharpened by hostility to us; while it would take the whole of the Hazara force one day to search one

contravention of their agreement, they allowed free passage to the Hindustanis through their territory when proceeding on and returning from their kidnapping and marauding expeditions (8).

In order to bring them to a sense of their responsibilities, the Utmanzais and Gaduns were accordingly placed under blockade, and on October 2, 1861, they came in and made their submission, and consented to enter into fresh engagements to exclude the Syeds and Hindustanis (9).

In the beginning of 1862, it was reported that the numbers of the Hindustanis had been increased, and several robberies having been committed by robbers dispatched by Syed Mubarik Shah (son of Syed Akbar Shah, the King of Swat) into the Hazara territory, it was recommended by the Panjab authorities that an expedition should be undertaken against Malka.

This recommendation accorded with the opinion of Major James, the Commissioner of Peshawar, then absent in England, and of the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, who in his dispatch No. 18 of April 7, 1862, wrote as follows: "I am disposed to agree with the Commissioner of Peshawar that it will eventually be necessary to expel the offenders by force of arms and that they will be a lasting source of trouble so long as they are permitted to remain in the neighbourhood".

The Supreme Government, however, were of opinion at that time that sufficient cause for undertaking an expedition had not been shown (10).

During the autumn of 1862 and ensuing cold season, there was a considerable immunity from these kidnapping practices; but again in the spring of 1863 two murders were committed, which were generally attributed to Syed Mubarik Shah's men, and on July 5, it was reported that the Syeds and Hindustanis had suddenly re-occupied Sittana (11) and had renewed their old nefarious activity of thieving and murder. No attempt to prevent their doing so was made by the Gadun or Utmanzai tribe, and some of their members actually invited them.

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mountain, and at the end they would be quite knocked up and useless. What, then, could be hoped from a limited body of police in a tract of country containing a constant succession of such mountains? These are crimes which nothing but pressure on the head and source of the offence can check. The men who send out these brigands, and those who harbour and give them passage through their lands, must be reached and made to suffer, and then, and then alone, will the activity of their emissaries be checked."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

(8) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 127, dated Peshawar, the 9th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

(9) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 165, dated the 11th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

(10) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(11) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Service Message No. 69, dated Peshawar, the 5th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

These tribes, being called upon for their reasons for having thus broken the engagements they had entered into, only afforded evasive replies ; the Gaduns laying the blame on the Utmanzais, and the Utmanzais on Gaduns (12), and as the Syeds and Hindustanis were sending threatening messages to the Chief of Amb, a feudatory protected by the British Government, military measures were taken for maintaining a blockade against the Gadun and Utmanzai tribes, and militia were entertained for the purpose of protecting the territory of the Amb Chief (13).

The Syeds and Maulvi Abdulla (the military leader of the Hindustani fanatics) were now acting with their Hindustani followers in the bitterest spirit against the British Government ; the leaders of the colony expressly declared "they were embarked in determined opposition to the infidel," and called upon "all good Mahomedans to quit the friendship of the unbelieving, and join the would-be-martyrs of the faith". A letter to this effect was sent to the Chief of Amb (14).

On the night of September 3, 1863, Maulvi Abdulla, with his Hindustanis, and accompanied it was said, by Malik Esau of the Gadun tribe, attempted to attack the camp of the Guides at Topi. The attacking force had arrived within a short distance of the camp, when they came upon a cavalry patrol of one duffadar and four sowars, of the Guide Corps. The duffadar had been previously warned of the neighbourhood of a body of men, and on coming on an advanced party he immediately attacked them. Two men were cut down, and the rest, rushing back on the main body, communicated a panic, which ended in a general and disgraceful flight. The Hindustanis then erected a breastwork on the right bank of the Indus, from which they continued to annoy the picquet held by the levies at Naogiran (15).

About the 10th of September, the Hassanzai tribe, instigated, it was supposed by the Maulvi of Sittana, made an unprovoked attack on the hamlets in the little Shunglai valley of the Black Mountain, in which the most advanced outpost of the Amb territory is situated. The fort was not molested, but some six or seven hamlets were destroyed, and one man, who resisted, was killed (16).

The Hassanzais then threatened an attack on Chamberi, and a portion of the Mada Khels crossed the Indus with the intention of assisting them ;

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(12) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546 dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

(13) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(14) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Demi-official letter dated the 11th September, 1863. From Lieut. R. Sandeman, Assistant Commissioner to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

(15) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Diary of H. H. Coxe, Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, dated the 10th September, 1863.

(16) *Ibid.*

but the frontier line having been greatly strengthened by the Amb authorities, the gathering broke up, and the Mada Khels recrossed the river. Shortly afterwards, the Hassanzais made an attack on the Amb levies on the Black Mountain border, in which one jemadar and seven men were killed, and several of the levies wounded (17).

It was now considered that the time had arrived when it became absolutely necessary to have recourse to military operations (18). Hitherto the hostilities and provocations had been offered by detached tribes, but now, for the first time, the majority, if not the whole, of the Hazara border tribes were arrayed against the British Government. In the opinion of Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, it was perhaps possible, though very doubtful, to avert a campaign by making use of the feuds and factions of the different tribes to sow discord in their councils; but this could only put off the day of reckoning a little further. Delay, which with these tribes is little understood, might encourage other tribes to action, and a favourable opportunity might thus be lost for putting and end to the chronic frontier irritation which then existed. That an expedition against these tribes would be forced on the British Government sooner or later appeared inevitable, and condonation without chastisement would only be an inducement for them to repeat their offences (19).

An expedition was accordingly sanctioned by the Supreme Government, the first object of which was effectually to rid the frontier of the chronic cause of disturbance—the Hindustani fanatics. Their mere expulsion from the right bank of the Indus upon their old posts at Malka and on the south bank of the Barandu, was not considered enough; nor was it thought advisable that they should find shelter in Swat, and make that powerful tribe the future focus of disturbance on the frontier (20).

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(17) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2320, dated the 5th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

(18) Colonel Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, writing to the Secretary to Punjab Government, in a dispatch No. 165, dated September 11, 1863, remarks: "The Gaduns, contrary to express agreements, which they themselves acknowledge, but try to evade with an excuse of want of power to fulfil, which every peasant in the country knows to be false, have, in defiance or indifference regarding our displeasure, permitted, if not encouraged, the fanatic colony to return from Malka to their former position at Sittana. Unless this flagrant contempt of our power be visited upon them, we must not only lose authority and influence on the border, but it will be very certain to be visited upon us in a tangible form by other instances of open violation of agreements, aggression on our border, and general contempt of our authority, which will force war on us most probably under less advantageous circumstances than those with which it may now be engaged in".—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

(19) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(20) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2,352. Letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

The Governor-General was of the opinion that the "punishment of the Gaduns was to be a secondary consideration to the primary one of crushing effectually the small, but troublesome, horde of fanatics; and with this purpose in view, the civil officer who accompanies the expedition should make it his object not only to discriminate carefully between those tribes who have as yet shown no sign of hostility and those who, through fear of the British approach in force, make professions of repentance; but also to hold out to the latter that their sincerity will be measured by the assistance they may render in capturing dispersed fanatics, and that by no other course can they atone for their complicity, and escape retributive measures. (21)".

With regard to the plan of operations, Colonel Taylor's proposal was that the force should march to the head of the Gadun country, either direct from Topi via Bisak, etc., or by following the route of the expedition of 1858 to Mangal Thana and from there working across; and that it should be met near Sittana by a column advancing up the right bank of the Indus by crossing it at Rorgush. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab had suggested generally that the force should march in two columns and sweep the country on either side of the Mahaban range by mounting its heights and thence dictating terms to the tribes (22).

The Supreme Government, however, laid down that "whilst occupying the attention of the fanatics and their allies on the line of the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Sittana, the aim should be, if there be no serious military objections to this course, to push up a strong column to Mangal Thana and Malka so as to interpose between the fanatics and their line of retreat towards the Barandu, their posts on which might be occupied by a separate light column or by a detachment from the main column. The latter would, from Mangal Thana and Malka, then operate, in conjunction with our troops on the Indus line, against the fanatics; and though their extirpation may, as anticipated by Colonel Taylor, not be possible, yet their dispersion would, under such circumstances, be on the lines of direction favourable to their capture, if the co-operation of the well disposed sections of the tribes could be elicited" (23).

In a dispatch of the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, it was added that "the strength and composition of each column, and the route to be followed, can probably best be fixed by the General Officer commanding the troops, in consultation with the Commissioner accompanying the force" (24).

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(21) *Ibid.*

(22) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(23) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352. Letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863. From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department with the Governor-General to the Secretary to Government, Panjab.

(24) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 414, dated the 25th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

Accordingly, on September 27, 1863, Colonel A. Wilde, commanding the Corps of Guides, under whose directions the blockade against the Gaduns had been conducted, submitted a memorandum through Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain who had been appointed to Command the expeditionary force. In this document it was stated that the expedition of 1858, although successful, had not been conclusive as to its results. The Gadun tribe had not felt the power of the British Government ; and although the Hindustanis had been turned out of Mangal Thana and driven from Sittana, they had retreated on Malka, more from the pressure put upon them by the Gadun tribe than from the defeats they had sustained from the British troops.

For the future peace of the border, Wilde said the destruction of this colony of priests and fanatics was a necessity, and that they must be removed by death or capture from the hills, and a treaty made with the hill tribes not to allow them to reside in their territories.

He considered that the plan of campaign would have to be totally different in its nature from that pursued in 1858. The force to be employed would have to be a strong one, and it would be necessary to occupy temporarily the country to the north of the Mahaban ; the military object in view being to attack the Hindustanis from the north, and force them to fight with their backs to the plains : operating, in fact, on their line of retreat, instead of, as before, advancing from the plains, driving them out of Mangal Thana and Sittana, and allowing them a safe retreat and passage into the hills (25). To effect this, two columns were to be employed—the base of operations of one column being in the Peshawar valley, and that of the other in Hazara (26).

The Peshawar column was to be assembled at Nawakila and Swabi Manairi, with the avowed object, as in 1858, of moving on Mangal Thana (which would be naturally, expected) ; but, when ready to march, the column was to pass through the Ambela defile (or more properly, the Surkhawai pass) and occupy the village of Kogah, in the Chamla valley, thirteen miles by a camel road chiefly over British territory, and stated then to be "easy in the extreme." The next day the force was to march to Cherorai, sixteen miles, an open plain near the river Barandu, when simultaneously with the occupation of Cherorai, the Hazara column was to drop down the Indus and drive the enemy out of Sittana, occupying that place ; the Peshawar column moving on the third day to Malka (27).

The advantages of this plan of operations were thus reckoned : That the Gaduns, finding their country commanded by the force in the Chamla valley, would keep quiet, and perhaps assist in capturing the defeated Hindustanis. That the operations would be in an open valley containing several fine villages and admitting of the employment of cavalry ; whence also

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(25) This proposal, it should be noted, met in some way the suggestion made in the Secretary to the Government of India's letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863.

(26) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

(27) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.



flying columns could be sent up the Mahaban, the northern slopes of which are easier than the southern. It also afforded the alternatives either of withdrawing to the plains through the Ambela pass, or by sending back the cavalry by that route and advancing the rest of the force either to Mangal Thana or Sittana, as might be found feasible (28).

There remained the question of the attitude of the neighbouring tribes. The Chamla valley is bounded on the north by the Guru mountain, six thousand feet high, which with the district to north of it is the home of the Bunerwals. No trouble was anticipated from them, for they had no sympathy with the fanatics and held different religious opinions. Moreover, they formed part of the flock of the *Akhund* of Swat, rather a remarkable man, who was a kind of pontiff of Islam in those quarters and had denounced the fanatics as actual infidels.

Both the Bunerwals and the Swatis, who lay to north-west of the fanatics, were expected to look with approval on the coming campaign; and the valley of Chamla itself belonged to a mixture of unimportant tribes, some friendly, some hostile towards the British. It was considered imprudent to sound any of the clans as to their feelings lest the plan of campaign should thereby be revealed, which was likely enough. It was anticipated by Colonel A. Wilde, that on the whole the entire affair should be ended in three weeks (29).

The Governor-General approved of Colonel Wilde's suggestions and communicated it to Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief. The actual plan of operations was not laid before Sir Hugh, for it was not finally determined upon by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab until the last moment (30); but none the less Rose lost no time in giving his opinion.

He pointed out, first, the danger of denuding Peshawar and other stations of troops and transport at the very moment when, by entering the mountains at one point, the British should arouse excitement along the whole line. Next, he remarked that the proper equipment of even five thousand men (as proposed by the Punjab authorities), as regards supplies, ammunition and

(28) Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

(29) Panjab Government Record. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

(30) Colonel Wilde's proposal was personally submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab by General Chamberlain at Murree. It was discussed at a meeting convened by His Honour at which the following were present:

Sir Robert Montgomery, General Chamberlain, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Forsyth and Captain Black. The proposal appeared to be sound, and His Honour decided that Colonel Taylor should at once proceed to the spot and in communication with Colonel Wilde, carry out the fullest enquiries regarding it. There was no time for a reference to His Honour who agreed to the adoption of the route into the Chamla Valley, provided that after Colonel Taylor's enquiries, both he and the General continued to think it the best that could be adopted. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 18, dated the 8th January, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

transport, for so difficult and arduous a duty would need far more time than had been allowed, and that the period allotted for active operations (three weeks) was too short. Finally he urged that hasty flying marches through the mountains had produced no satisfactory results in the past, and were not likely to produce them at present. He therefore advised a strict blockade of the district during the winter and the dispatch of a carefully prepared and equipped expedition in the spring (31). This sound common sense was however disregarded.

R. R. SETHI.

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(31) Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 7th October, 1863, from the Adjutant-General of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

## Glimpses of Serampore (1810-1820).

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[Through the kindness of Mr. LORENZ BIE of Copenhagen, a descendant of Colonel OLE BIE, the last Danish Governor of Serampore, we are enabled to publish the following translations of extracts from the diary of SEVERIN KIERULF, merchant in the Danish Ost Indian Company, at Serampore in the year 1809-1820.—ED.]

*Extract of a diary, written by Mr. SEVERIN KIERULF, merchant in the Danish Ostindian Company at Serampore in the years 1809-1820.*

1810 *March 15th.* Was communication received from Tranquebar that Mrs. KELSO—the Lady of Alexander Hamilton Kelso Esq.—British Commissioner there, and a daughter of the deceased consul EDWARD COLBIRNSEN and still living Mrs. MANONNA COLBIRNSEN—had got a son the 16th of February.

December 14th. Mrs. Colonel MEISSELBACK was delivered with a daughter in the morning at 5 o'clock.

1811 *October 20th.* Lieutenant-Colonel Oberstlieutenant O. C. STRICKERS in Tranquebar—his eldest daughter EMINE was married to the English Captain THOMAS SMYTH in the 14th Native Infantry Regiment, Madras Establishment.

1812 *November 6th.* Mrs. Colonel Meisselback was delivered with a daughter in the afternoon about 5 o'clock.

1813 *June 22nd.* The widower Mr. HENRICH CARL BANG was to-day married in the church here by the English priest Mr. Henry Shepherd, to Miss SOPHIA MOORE—a daughter of the deceased assistant surgeon Moore in the English Camp—and her mother Mrs. Moore, who lives here during this time.

1814 *October 9.* In the morning at 4 o'clock was Mrs. Colonel Meisselback delivered with a son.

1816 *Died Mr. H. C. Bang 23rd May* in Calcutta 75 years old.

1817 *May 11.* In the afternoon one quarter past 4 o'clock died here, some and sixty years old, an Englishman, JOHN HYDE, who lived here since 1798, and before was in an important position at the supreme court in Calcutta.

*June 8th.* In the forenoon about at 10 was the wife of Capt. A. T. MAREDYTH delivered with a daughter.

*July 13th.* Died at Allipore—a district near Calcutta—Mr. Wm. DRURY KERR—a son in law of Mr. JOHN PALMER—junior merchant in the english comp. 25 years old.

1818 *January 25th.* In the afternoon at 4 died here Captain ARTHUR TIRDALE MEREDYTH, in the english comp's service at the invalide corps.

*April 22.* Was marriage declared between AQUARIUS SCHAFFALITZKY DE MUCKADELL ESQ. son of son in law of Ole Bie Esq. Governor in Serampore Associated of the Commercial house Stevenson and Co. at Manilla—and Miss FANNY RANKEN—a relation of Messrs. Captain W. D. Playfair and the doctor Geo Playfair—brothers—both in the english comp.'s service.

*May 7th.* In the afternoon at 3½ died on this place and burried next day, Mr. CONSTANTINE SHERIN—born 25 May 1794—23 years 11 months 12 days old—leaving a young widow, after scarcely 3 years marriage.

*May 18th.* Was communication received that my friend during several years Mr. FRANCIS LE GROS, senior merchant in the english comp.'s service, and latterly Commercial Resident at Patna, died on that place the 10th of this month in the morning at 5, probably some and fifty years old.

*Sept. 1st.* Was Mr. HENRY ALLAN WILLIAMS, a senior merchant in the english comp.'s service, and during this time Commercial Resident at Maldah, married at this place to Miss SUSSANAH LYDIA MARSHMAN, the eldest daughter of the Reverend Dr. JOSHUA MARSHMAN—one of the Baptist Missionaries. The marriage was performed by the Reverend JOSEPH PARSON, Junior Presidency Chaplain in Bengal.

*October 25.* Died at this place the Lieutenant-Colonel THOMAS TURNER BASSEL of the english comp.'s european Invalid Corps in Bengal. His age unknown.

*November 15.* In the afternoon at 2 died at this place of cholera morbus, in the house of Colonel Meisselback, where she some days before was arrived on visit, Miss MARY RICHARDSON 17 years 10 months old. She was a daughter of Mr. R. SAME RICHARDSON, Head Surgeon in the english comp.'s service, and now attached to the 22nd native Infantry Reg. Cantoning at Barrackpore opposite Serampore.

1819 *January 1st.* Was Mr. Schaffalitzky de Mickadell's and Miss Frances Rauken's marriage celebrated in the house of the royal chief at this place. The marriage was celebrated by the Rev. Henry Shepherd, Senior Chaplain in the cathedral in Calcutta.

*Jan. 20th.* Was my son WILLIAM DUNTZFELT KIERULF'S commission issued as cornet by His British Majesty's 22nd Regiment light dragoons. Within some time he will leave for Madras, where the regiment is far up in the interior. (Bangalore).

*April 7th.* At 4 o'clock in the afternoon was Mrs. CONRADINE FITZGERALD the wife of the english Lieutenant F. delivered with a son.

- April 9th.* In the afternoon at 2 died at Riserah by Capt. M. T. Weatherall, the Captain C. H. SHEEN (cholera morbus). His age unknown.
- Sept. 27.* In the afternoon between 5 and 6 was in the Baptist Missionary house at this place, the Lady of H. A. WILLIAMS—now Commercial Resident of Jungipore—delivered with a daughter.
- 1820 *October 21st.* In the morning at 3 was in the Baptist Missionary house the Lady of H. A. WILLIAMS delivered with a son.  
*The same day* was the daughter of Colonel Meisselback, Miss ANNA MARIE, married to the Lieutenant WILLIAM HODGSON in the english comp.'s service, in the cathedral in Calcutta.
- 1821 *Janr. 30.* Was Mr. SAMUEL MIDDLETON in the english comp.'s service, married at this place by the Baptist Missionary Mr. Hough, to MRS. ANN SMITH,—who for some years has lived within his patronize,—the widow of Major Ferdinand S. formerly in the service of a Marrahta Prince.
- February 5.* Was Mr. CHARLES R. BARWELL in the english comp.'s service and now Judge and Magistrate of the Suburbs of Calcutta, married in the Danish chief's house to Mrs. ANN MARIA MAN, divorced from Mr. JOHN BURCTON BIRCH, Police Magistrate in Calcutta.
- 1821 *June 29.* In the afternoon at 3 died at this place Mr. P. FERRIS in his age 55 years—formerly Editor of Calcutta weekly newspaper. The Morning Post and owner of the Calcutta Biblioteck-circulating Library, and during the last years reduced to the necessity of keeping a sort of school at this place for boys and girls.
- May 30th.* In the morning early died at this place the Baptist Missionary the Rev. Mr. William Carey's wife, Mrs. CHARLOTTE CAREY, born a Miss RUMOHR from Slesvig, in her age of 60 years and 2 months.
- 1815 *Sept. 25.* Was in the house of Otto Bie at this place Mr. CONSTANTINE SHERIN married to Miss CHARLOTTE FREDERIKA WASMUS, the only daughter of the deceased Mr. Charles Philip Wasmis, formerly surgeon in the english comp.'s service.
- November. 29.* In the evening at 10 died at this place Mr. JAMES WILLIAM EMERSON, and was burried the next day.
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## An unpublished letter of Major James Rennel dated Bengall, August 31st 1765.

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The name of James Rennell deserves to be remembered with gratefulness. He was undoubtedly one of the great men England had sent to India in the 18th century which was the most interesting period of the British occupation of India. He was the first Surveyor-General of India and from him sprang the vast edifice of the Survey of India. The large number of maps and books which he had published show him to be an indefatigable worker in the field and a man of rare abilities (1).

The following private letter of this great man will, therefore, be found of great interest. It was purchased by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis from Messrs. Maggs Brothers of London and is now preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara in the Bombay Presidency. It is of 8½ pages, quarto size, and is wholly written in his own hand.

Rennell does not give the name of the person to whom the letter was written but from the very affectionate terms in which it is written and from the reference to Mrs. Burrington, Mrs. Sampson etc. in the concluding portion of the letter there can be no doubt that it was addressed to the Rev. Gilbert Burrington of whom and whose family Rennell thought and spoke with the tenderest affections. Many were the messages he sent to Mrs. and Miss Burrington and to old Mrs. Sampson; and the midshipman's letters invariably ended with 'love to the dear children' (2).

Rennell has also not noted the exact place from which the letter was written; but from his mention of the date we can know that it must be Dacca which he always fixed as his head quarters during the recess season (3). We know that he had returned to Dacca on the first of August 1765 (4) after his third expedition for surveying the Megna and Baramputrey and that he had left it on 13th October 1765 on his 4th expedition for making a general map of Bengal Provinces with all expedition as ordered by Lord Clive (5).

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(1) A complete biography of James Rennell has been published by Sir Clements R. Markham under the name "Major James Rennell and the rise of modern English Geography" in 1895 and a brief sketch of his career is given in the Introduction of his Journals published as a memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 3 in 1910.

(2) *Markham's Major James Rennell*, p. 17.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 46.

(4) *Memoir A. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 48.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 51.

In the commencing portion of the letter Rennell gives a somewhat detailed Geographical account of the Kingdom of Bengall, with special reference to the river Baramputrey, one of the largest rivers in the world and to the large City of Dacca with 4,50,000 inhabitants. He then refers to the battles and conquests of Buxar, Benares, Allahabad and Kora, the latter of which were won by the valour of General Carnac.

The letter reveals the open nature of Rennell when he states "I think the circumstance concerning the decline of my health will be best concealed from my mother, although she must be convinced that it is the necessary consequence of fatigue in so hot a climate as this and indeed between you and I, my dear friend, I have been guilty of some excesses which I fear have been of bad consequence to me. However I begin to know better, though indeed as Mr. Issac Brikerstaff says young fellows seldom know the value of health or other valuable blessings till they have lost them". Rennell was also prepared to blame his own countrymen when he says—We may easily account for its (of Dacca) decline by the continual wars which have of late years wasted the whole country and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share.

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Bengall, Aug. 31st. 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to write to you in December last by Mr. Topham (6), which letter I hope you have received. I have not yet been favoured with any letters from you, which gives me much uneasiness.

I have been constantly employed in journeying the country since the time I wrote last, so that my new map of Bengall begins to make a figure, as I have gone over a square of 27 Degrees of Longitude by 3 of Latitude and during my last Expedition, I was in sight of the Tartarian Mountains (7).

The Kingdom of Bengall, particularly the Eastern front is naturally the most convenient for trade within itself of any country—in the world; for the rivers divide into just a number of Branches that the people have the convenience of water carriage to & from every principal place. The principal rivers are the Ganges and Baramputrey, the former coming from the N. W. parts of Indostan and the latter from the S. E. parts of great Tartary; I am now employed in tracing the latter towards its source; but shall have

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(6) He had been a mid-shipman with Rennell on board the 'Brilliant' and it was through his influence that Rennell received a commission as Probationer Engineer at Calcutta, on 9 April, 1764 and was ordered by Mr. Vansittart, then Governor of Bengal to make a survey of the delta of the Ganges. Cf. *Memoir A. S. B.*, Vol. III, Intro. p. 1.

(7) i.e., the Himalayas, the name of Himalaya was then unknown and Rennell called them by this name.

a number of barbarious nations to pass through, and some of them are extremely jealous of Europeans (8).

The size of the Ganges has been very much magnified by those Historians who make any mention of it, and on the contrary, the Baramputrey one of the largest rivers in the world, has been scarce taken notice of. The Baramputrey 60 miles from the Sea is in some places 72 miles broad, the water at the same time quite fresh and palatable ; the Ganges is from half a mile to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles broad and is navigable for boats of 150 Tons 740 miles above the mouth ; its stream is not very rapid, scarce exceeding the rate of 5 miles an hour during all the above mentioned space. It abounds with Turtle and fish of many different kinds, and alligators or crocodiles are so plenty that you may frequently see 20 of a day ; however they are so far from agreeing with the common descriptions of them, that they are excessive shy, and never were known to go ashore in quest of their pray. I have not seen any of them that were more than 25 foot long.

There are few towns of note in the province of Bengall, but the villages are innumerable ; in the camp of 150 miles I could not discover one brick house, all the country houses being built of Bamboos and mats. The cities are very large, and of these there are in the Kingdom of Bengall, Muxadabat (9), Patna, Dacca and Calcutta. I have only as yet seen the two latter ones ; Dacca is near 4 miles long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles broad, being built along the side of the Eastmost branch (10) of the Ganges. It was once a very flourishing city, and indeed has at this time a considerable trade ; but nothing in comparison of what it had about 70 or 80 years ago. We may easily account for its decline, by the continual wars which have of late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share (11). The buildings of Dacca are very mean, altho mostly of brick. They are mostly of one story only ; so that you may imagine that the number of inhabitants is no way proportioned to that of our European cities ; I think they compose the number of inhabitants to be only 450,000. Dacca has only a small fort built according to the Indian method for its defence so that a few years ago it was pillaged by less than a 1000 facquirs. (12).

The country for near 70 miles round Dacca is entirely overflowed during the months of July, August and September, so that the towns and villages are only so many small islands and have a communication with one another by small boats. This phenomenon is occasioned by the overflowing of the Ganges and Baramputrey and without it the country would be parched up

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(8) This fear proved true in the case of Rennell himself. For in the month of February 1766 when he was busy with his survey operations on the frontier of Bhutan he was very seriously wounded by a local tribesman. (Cf. Markham's *Life of Rennell*, p. 47 and *Memoir A. S. B.*, p. 74.)

(9) i.e., Murshidabad.

(10) Locally called by Badiganga.

(11) Rennell's open mind in making this statement deserves to be noted.

(12) These must be the same 'Sanashi Fakirs', a tribe of Bhutan, while fighting with whom in 1776 Rennell received a most serious accident. See f. n. 8 above.



during the whole year. The food of the country people being entirely rice, their annual inundation saves them the trouble of watering their lands, and keeping them in the state required for the production of that grain.

Calcutta is somewhat less than Dacca, but being the Chief European Settlement, the building are much more elegant than those of Dacca, or indeed any other City in Indostan. Muxadabat, the Capital of Bengall is much larger than Dacca and is in a very pleasant situation during the dry season. Patna lies towards the western frontier of Bengall and is said to be the richest of the four ; its dimentions are nearly the same as those of Muxadabat.

I don't know whether Benaras ought to be reckoned in the territory of Bengall ; it is a very fine opulent city and formerly had an University in it.

Perhaps you would hardly believe that there are 50,000 square miles of level land in Bengall and that there is not a rock or stone to be met with throughout that space, however it is certainly very true.

I gave you in my last (13) some account of the battle betwixt our army and the Vizier near the City of Benaras. Thy worthy friend Mr. Carnac was at that time at Calcutta, being most unjustly suspended from his duty by order of the E. I. Co. ; presently afterwards he received from the same gentleman a commission appointing him a Brigadier General in the Companys Service and in March he again took Commands of the Army which had then penetrated a considerable way into the Viziers Dominions. [The Viziers Dominions are situated on the banks of the Ganges and Jemna, and extend almost from Agra to Benaras.] Benaras fell to the conquerors in consequence of the Battle of Baxar (near Benaras), and Iliabad (14) the Vaziers Capital was given up soon after. This City is reported to be one of the best built, as well as the strongest in Indostan. The Capture of these two places brought in an immense booty to the Captors, most of the principal officers making very handsome fortunes. On the 3rd of May, General Carnac engaged the Vazier at Corahengabad (15) on the Banks of the Jemna and gained a complete victory, thereby getting possession of all the Vaziers Territories ; soon after this the Vazier yielded himself up a prisoner to Carnac in hopes of obtaining more favourable terms than he would possibly expect by recruiting his army, and in giving another battle. If we consider the temper and education of these Eastern Princes, this step of the Vaziers will appear to be a very extraordinary one. The Mogul (16) himself was present at the battle of Buxar, and after the defeat of his Vazier (17), came into our camp, where he has remained ever since. However he is little more than a cypher,

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(13) Nothing is known of this letter. It must have been written after 23 October, 1764 when the famous battle of Buxar referred to here was won by the British under Major Munro against Mir Kasim.

(14) i.e., Allahabad.

(15) i.e., Kora.

(16) The Emperor Shah Alam II.

(17) Shujauddaula, the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh.

nor indeed was he much otherwise before that Battle, the Vazier having the command of the army, and indeed the reins of Government.

Lord Clive arrived here in the beginning of May (18) and in July set out for Iliabad, in order to treat with the Vazier. The success of his Lordships' negotiations is not yet known but we hear that the Vazier is to have his country restored, on conditions of his paying the expenses of the War, which in fact, he was the cause of these expenses amount to no less than £1,200,000 sterling, or what the people of Indostan call a crore of Rupees, that is 100 lacks, each lack 100,000 Rupees.

I believe that I informed you in a former letter that Mr. Carnac was an old acquaintance of my Barnac Cousins (19), and that my cousin sent out a recommendation of me to him. Mr. Carnac has behaved remarkably genteel to me, and constantly favours me with his correspondence. He has likewise recommended me to His Lordship, so that it will be my own fault if I am not successful. Mr. Palk (20) has likewise favoured me with another recommendation, and I am happy in having the approbation of my employees.

I do not enjoy my health now as well as I have heretofore, but am in hopes that I shall recover it. If not, I hope to be wise enough to prefer health to riches, and retire to my native country with competence, instead of affluence.

I intended to say something about the Climate of Bengall, but forgot it in the body of my letter. I have not experienced a greater degree of heat than what made the thermometer rise to 93, or cold lower than 54 ; however the air during the months of December and January appear to us to be as sharp as that in England during the month of March. You may easily find whether the degree of heat and cold will you bear the same proportion as I have mentioned. We had about 120 rainy days during the last twelve months. The rainy months are part of June, the months of July and August, and part of September. During the rainy season we seldom see two dry days following.

I am in hopes that this will find you all in perfect health. I have thought it needless to write to my mother and sister when you will be able to give them ample satisfaction with regard to my situation and prospects. I think the circumstance concerning the decline of my health will be best concealed from my mother, although she must be convinced that it is the necessary consequence of fatigue in so hot a climate as this is, and indeed between you and I my dear friend, I have been guilty of some excesses (21) which I fear have been of bad consequence to me. However I begin to know

(18) On 3rd May, 1765.

(19) Dr. Thomas Rennell, the rector of Drewsteignton was a distant cousin of James father. James was not well treated by these people in his bad days and he used to call the sons of this Doctor by this name c.f. Markham, p. 12.

(20) Mr. Robert Palk was Governor of Madras in 1763 and Rennell had become his friend when he was serving in the Madras Navy.

(21) This is another instance of the openness of Rennells mind.

better, though indeed as Mr. Isaac Brikerstaff (22) says, young fellows seldom know the value of health or other valuable blessings, till they have lost them.

I have had some thoughts of getting a partner (if I could meet with an agreeable one) but I find that families are so very expensive (23) in this country that I am afraid to venture ; so that I must endeavour to mortify those desires till my arrival in England.

I am pleased to present my best respects to Mrs. Burrington and Mrs. Sampson, and my love to the children (24), likewise my respects to my friends at Slade.

I had almost forgot to mention my late promotion, which was that of Lieutenant and Sub-Engineer in the month of January last.

There has lately been published in England a History of the War of Coromandoll (25) and I find that the same author (Mr. Orme) intends to give us the Wars of Bengall in his second volume ; if the second volume should be answerable to the first I may venture to recommend it as the best book of its kind.

I have little more to say, my dear friend, but that I shall wait very impatiently the arrival of the next ships, hoping to hear from you ; and to assure you that I am with the greatest truth and sincerity.

Your very affectionate,  
and obedient Servant,  
J. RENNELL.

D. B. DISKALKAR.

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(22) Wherefrom is this quotation?

(23) It is to be wondered that at so early period when India was a very cheap country Rennell should complain of the families being so very expensive. Henry Roberdean, a young civilian writing about the life in Bengall in 1805 gives the prices of provisions and states that they were very cheap (cf. Bengal Past and Present, Vol. XXIX, p. 121 and 144). Wine only caused considerable expenditure (p. 120).

(24) Tom, Robert and Gilbert Burrington. Cf. Markham's Life of Rennell, p. 18.

(25) Published in 1764.

## “Hindoo” Stuart.

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ON Saturday, June 15, 1907, the *Statesman* published a letter in which attention was drawn to the neglected and dilapidated condition of “perhaps the most interesting and picturesque monument” in the South Park Street cemetery. The tomb is that of Major-General Charles Stuart, of the Bengal Army, who was popularly known to the Calcutta of a century ago as “Hindoo” Stuart. Although he was busied with Christian rites on April 1, 1828, by the Rev. J. R. Henderson, the junior Chaplain of St. John’s Cathedral, his attachment to Hinduism had long been the talk of the town. He used to walk every morning from his house in Wood Street to bathe in the Ganges, and when he went to Europe on furlough in 1804, he took a collection of images with him.

The tomb in the old graveyard must have been designed in accordance with his wishes, for it is constructed of elaborately carved black stone which once formed part of a Hindu temple. The recesses on each side of the gateway are occupied by sculptured figures of the incarnation of the Ganges and of Prithi Devi, the goddess of the Earth, while the head of a Hindu goddess crowns the whole.

In 1907 the monument was declared to be in a deplorable condition, it was stated that the upper half of the gateway was lying across the pathway and that the head of the deity which once surmounted it was reposing on the floor inside the tomb.

From the accompanying illustration which is reproduced from a photograph taken in June 1932 by Mr. J. G. Brooker of Cossipore (a member of the Calcutta Historical Society), it will be seen that some beneficent agency has been at work. Mr. Brooker inform us that, barring the fact that the images are without noses, the tomb is in good repair.

It remains to say a word or two about the strange character who rests below. The curious thing about “Hindoo” Stuart is that there is nothing in his career to suggest an affection for Hinduism. He was not a Scotsman, as his surname would imply, but was born in Ireland in 1758. His parentage is obscure. According to Major Hodson, the historian of the Bengal Army, he was the reputed son of a certain Thomas Smyth of Dublin who was the elder brother of John Prendergast, first Viscount Gort: and we know from his will that he had a brother at Limerick named Thomas Stuart and a sister Eliza who was married to Captain Barker of the Armagh militia. He came out to India in the Europa in February 1777 and was gazetted as an ensign in the Company’s infantry on the Bengal establishment in January 1778. From 1786 to 1794 he was quartermaster of the 1st battalion of the 1st Bengal

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THE TOMB OF "HINDOO" STUART  
IN SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY, CALCUTTA.  
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN JUNE 1932 BY J. G. BROOKER.



European Regiment, and later commanded both the 10th and 15th Bengal Infantry Regiments. From 1804 to 1809 he was on furlough in Europe ; and from 1819 to 1822 he commanded the Saugor Field Force. It is said that he built a Hindu temple at Saugor ; and it would be interesting to learn whether he made gifts to any temple in Calcutta.

They would not be the first of their kind. There is the bell at the entrance to the Vishnupad Temple at Gaya which was presented on January 15, 1798, by Francis Gillanders, collector of the pilgrim tax, which was then a source of Government revenue. His tomb is in the old cemetery at the foot of Ramsila hill. Another bell in the famous temple of Durga at Benares, which is known to English visitors as the Monkey Temple, bears an inscription in Urdu inside the rim, of which the following is a transcription : "Willem Jems Garant Sahib Bahadur Kalaktar Shahar Banaras mah Asarh Fasli 1215." The story goes that William James Grant, who was Collector of Benares in 1808 A.D. (the year corresponding to 1215 Fasli) was out on the river one day in the rains with his wife and children when he was caught in a whirlpool close to the Garhwa Ghat which is near the Maharaja's palace at Ramnagar. The *manjhis* invoked the aid of the goddess Durga and brought the boat to the opposite bank with great difficulty ; whereupon the Collector presented the bell to the temple as a thank-offering.

Another gift by a Collector to a Hindu temple may be seen at Madura in South India, in the form of a pair of golden stirrups presented by Rous Peter who was Collector of Madura from 1812 to 1818 and lived on a scale of royal magnificence. There must be other cases, for quite a number of instances are known of Englishmen who adopted oriental manners and dress. To such an extent did this prevail that a Government order was issued prohibiting the wearing of Indian dress by the Company's European servants.

The tomb of "Hindoo" Stuart in the South Park Cemetery is near the tapering pillar which marks the grave of Colonel Valentine Blacker, C.B., of the Madras Light Cavalry, the historian of the Mahratta war of 1817-19 and name-father of Blacker's Gardens, Madras. He was Surveyor-General of India at the time of his death in Calcutta, at the early age of 40, on February 4, 1826.

EVAN COTTON.

[Based, by permission, on an article in the *Statesman* of May 14, 1933.]

## A Forgotten Graveyard at Dum Dum.

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MR. J. G. BROOKER of Cossipore, a member of the Calcutta Historical Society, has sent to us the following letter which was published in *The Times* on December 1, 1904. He reports that no graves are now traceable round the Church at Dum Dum and that the only monument outside the Church is the pillar in memory of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, the first commandant of the Bengal Artillery, who died in June 1789. On April 8, 1790, the *Calcutta Gazette* announced that "the wind was so violent in the storm on Friday afternoon that the pillar erecting in Dum Dum by the Artillery Officers to the memory of Colonel Pearse, was entirely blown down." In 1852 a similar fate overtook the column erected "to the south of the Factory" to commemorate the officers and men of the 1st troop 1st brigade of the Bengal Horse Artillery who lost their lives during the disastrous retreat from Kabul in 1841. The incident is mentioned by Lord Roberts, who joined at Dum Dum in 1852, in his "Forty-one Years in India" (1897: Vol. I, p. 8). The column was, he writes, levelled by the fury of the wind and was afterwards rebuilt.

The letter which we reproduce is pasted inside a copy of De Rozario's "complete Monumental Register" (Calcutta, printed by P. Ferris, 1815), an extremely rare book, which is owned by Mr. Brooker. It was formerly the property of Mr. John Herbert Harington (1764-1828) who was Chief Judge of the Suddar Dewanny Adawlut in 1811 and member of the Supreme Council in 1822-1823 and again from 1825 to 1827, and whose portrait hangs in the Judges' Library at the High Court. It was subsequently acquired in 1899 by Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp (1840-1914) who served in the I. C. S. from 1862 to 1889, principally in the Finance Department, and who compiled several lists relating to the Indian Civil Service.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sir.—Enclosed is a list of ruinous monuments in C Cemetery, Dum Dum, which I am ordered to demolish. I am protected by law if I advertise three times in the *Gazette of India*, but it occurs to me that a notice in the columns of *The Times* would be much more likely to catch the eye of some one interested, as most of the monuments belong to officers, N. C. O.'s, men and women of the world renowned Bengal Artillery. Monuments with forgotten inscriptions such as "Lieutenant Fireworker", "clerk to the Expence magazine" ought to be preserved by Gunners with *esprit de corps*, but if none come forward, they must be razed to the ground. Such is the law of India.

Dum Dum, Nov. 8 [1904].

J. MIDDLETON MACDONALD,  
Chaplain of Dum Dum.



## CEMETERY NOTICE.

List of ruinous tombstones in C. Cemetery, Dum Dum, which are about to be demolished, having been jointly condemned by the Chaplain of Dum Dum and the C. R. E., Fort William :

1. Henry Hamilton Crommelin, 1824.
2. Henry Otto, 1831.
3. John Drake Stover.
4. Margaret Caroline Otto.
5. Clementina Rhoda Earle.
6. James Mitchell Baddeley, 1838.
7. Elizabeth Baddeley, 1838.
8. Henry, son of the Revd. Griffin Tyrone, 1841.
9. John Carroll, 1828.
10. Eliza O'Neil, September 30, 1840.
11. Jane Barton, 1842.
12. — Pratt, 1850.
13. Mary Raddock.
14. Félicité Lowe, 1844.
15. John Storm Innes, 1840.
16. Mary Watson, 1868.
17. Alice Georgiana Watson, 1840, daughter of the head clerk in the Expence magazine.
18. Samuel George Edward Watson, 1842.
19. Isabella Louisa Woodward, 1846.
20. Walter Bacon Bridall, 1850.
21. Pat Verulane, 1840.
22. Edward Hanna, 1844.
23. Fred. Isaacs and Anthony Moss, 1847.
24. Margaret Wince, 1832.
25. John Cocks, 1853.
26. William Bannatyne Reid, 1857.
27. Mary, wife of Surgeon Dickson, 1857.
28. Ann Morley, 1830.
29. James Hitchman, K. D. G.'s, 1861.
30. Maria McClelland, 1840.
31. Sarah Forest, 1836.
32. Charles Montgomery Young, 1844.
33. William Nathaniel Forrest, 1837 [by explosion of a shell].
34. Thomas William Stotesbury, 1833.
35. Elizabeth Kabey Spencer, 1838.
36. C. H. F. Hutton, 1840.
37. Frederick Warren, Lieutenant Fireworker, 1818.
38. James Hart, 1844.
39. Peter Cassidy, 1826.
40. Hannah Corcoran, 1849.
41. Elizabeth Delling, 1851.

42. Abraham Creighton, 1840.
43. Honoria Macnamara.
44. Margart Mullihan, Mary McGuire, 1855.
45. William Knowlton, 1859.
46. Ellen Cossey, 1847.
47. Ellen Howorth, 1846.
48. Lieutenant Edward Drought, 1856.
49. Denis O'Reilly, Sergeant-major, Bengal Artillery with 8 children  
and his ward: 10 graves in a row.
50. Mabel Talin.
51. Catherine Hamilton, 1825.
52. Elizabeth Morgan, 1847.
53. Eliza Slater, 1847.
54. Patrick Gorman, 1843.
55. James Mc Coy, 1846.
56. Anne O'Connor 1852.
57. Mrs. Donagher, 1853.
58. Thomas Weffernan, 1855.
59. James Henry Baker, 1856.

J. MIDDLETON MACDONALD,  
Chaplain of Dum Dum.

Dum Dum, October 25, 1904.

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## Extracts from the "India Gazette" 1781 to 1786.

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[THE "India Gazette and Calcutta Public Advertiser" was started in November 1780 (four years before the "Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser") as a rival organ to Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* by Bernard Messinck the actor, who was sent out by David Garrick from London in 1776 for the Calcutta Theatre (then in Lyon's Range) and Peter Reed, a salt agent. Hicky frequently alludes to them as "Barnaby Grizzle" and "Peter Nimmuck." In the financial crash of 1833 Mackintosh and Co., the proprietors at that time, became insolvent, and the paper was purchased by Dwarkanath Tagore and amalgamated with the *Bengal Hurkaru*. The *Hurkaru* was absorbed in 1866 in the *Indian Daily News*, which ceased publication in 1926].

February 17, 1781.

Nicolls and Creighton at the Harmonic Tavern beg to inform the Gentlemen of this settlement that they propose to carry on the Tavern and Coffee Room business as usual (1).

March 3, 1781.

To be Let or Sold the House known by the name of the Old Council House next door to the old Export Warehouse. For particulars please to enquire of Mr. Edward Mullins at the Commercial Council House (2).

April 4, 1781.

On the 23rd ult. as Messrs. Saml. Clark and Stephen Shea were travelling in their palanquins from Ballasore to this place [Calcutta] they were stopt at a village between Bastah [Bustar] and Jellasore by the Mohur Bunje Rajah with a party of horse and foot, armed with matchlocks, bows, and arrows ; and after ordering their palanquins to be rummaged and

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(1) The Harmonic Tavern was in Lal Bazar, on the same side of the road as the present Police Court, and quite close to it.

(2) Lord Curzon in his *British Government in India* (Vol. I., p. 32), says that the old Export House was a building created against the south bastion of old Fort William, on the site of what is now known as Koila [Killa] Ghat Street : and he locates the old Council House accordingly at or near the junction of that street with Bankshall Street. It was the house of Mr. Richard Court, one of the survivor's of the Black Hole, and was taken over by the company in 1758 : but a new Council House was built in Esplanade East in 1764.

informing them he was at war with the English, he very politely dismissed them, reserving to himself a handsome fowling-piece and a gold seal belonging to Mr. C. which he said he took a fancy to.

April 7, 1781.

A person that has been well educated intends opening a Boarding School for the education of Young Ladies, who will be taught Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and all sorts of Needlework. Most particular attention will be paid to their morals.

For further particulars Enquire of Mrs. Ogden.

N. B. Pay Scholars will be taken in at 8 Rupees per month. (3)

July 7, 1781.

The Harmonic House, put up to Lottery by Messrs. Stark and Robertson, and drawn at Nicolls and Creighton's Tavern on Monday last [July 2] at 7 A.M., was won by the Hon. Mr. Justice Hyde (4).

October 6, 1781.

Mr. Creighton, who is on the point of Embarking for Europe, informs the Publick that the business of the Harmonic Tavern well be carried on by E. Creighton, J. Baxter, and J. Joyce until his departure and thereafter by J. Baxter and J. Joyce (5).

August 15, 1785. Improved Balloon.

The principal defect in the construction of this wonderful machine has been hitherto found to be the impossibility of directing its course in the air at pleasure and of obviating the effect of the wind upon it.

Mr. Chamoulard having bestowed a great deal of time and attention on this subject, flatters himself with the hopes of its not being entirely in vain. Altho' the expence necessary to make the experiment in proof of his theory is much beyond what his private fortune can afford, Yet he wishes to gratify the curious as far as lies in his power and has for this purpose executed a

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(3) Captain Thomas Williamson in his *East India Vade Mecum* (1810 : Vol. II, p. 216), says that "the first ladies' seminary that was set up in the vicinity of Calcutta started about the year 1780 under the charge of a Mrs. Hodges who succeeded beyond the expectations of her most sanguine patrons : and in the course of about twenty years realized a very handsome fortune with great credit to herself : and, if marrying off at an early age be desirable, with great advantage to innumerable young ladies."

(4) The Lottery Committee consisted of Henry Grant, William Paxton, Philip de Lisle, and Capt. John Macintyre.

(5) Baxter and Joys (or Joyce) were proprietors of a "Europe shop" : the latter came out on the *Portland* in 1777, and was at one time keeper of the Jail. An indenture of May 1, 1788, shows that the Harmonic Tavern was then under their management, but, in the interval (Calcutta Gazette of October 14, 1784) Edward Creighton who started his career in India as cook to Sir Thomas Rumbold, Governor of Madras, had resumed possession and had "reopened the Harmonic Tavern."

plan and drawing of the improved balloon which is hung up for inspection at the house of Mr. Joseph Quieros (6).

August 15, 1785.

The Rodney Indiaman, Captain Wakeman, arrived on August 6. She left England on March 27 and arrived at Madras on July 27.

The Rodney spoke with a vessel at sea which informed her that Mr. Hastings was very well on the 21st of April when the Berrington left St. Helena. The run from St. Helena to England is generally performed by the Indiamen in eight weeks, and as the Berrington is coppered it may reasonably be expected that she would arrive in England about the 7th of June (7).

August 29, 1785. The Grand Air Balloon.

On Thursday the first of September at five o'clock in the evening Mr. Klassenback will let off his Grand Air Balloon made of silk alternately striped red and white, measuring six feet in circumference, behind Mr. Quieros' Auction Room, formerly the Menage [Manége].

Tickets to be had of Mr. Quieros and Messrs. Moore and Lacey (8).

September 19, 1785.

Messrs. Charles Croftes and Richard Johnson, having determined upon closing their joint concerns and dissolving the firm of Croftes and Johnson on the 1st day of October next ensuing, they deem it necessary to give this Public Notice thereof . . . . .

They further give notice that on the day above mentioned, the House upon the Esplanade, their joint property, hitherto occupied by them, will be sold at Public Outcry (9).

September 19, 1785.

Grace, Ladies' Hairdresser, Rose Gulley, opposite the House of Mr. Motte, begs leave to inform the Ladies of Calcutta and its environs that he cuts and dresses Ladies' Hair at Four Gold Mohurs per month: for once

(6) Joseph Quieros was an auctioneer in Calcutta and also managed, an indigo concern at Najafgarh for Claude Martin who made him one of the executors of his will: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 142.

(7) Warren Hastings landed at Plymouth, on June 13, 1785. We sailed from Calcutta on February 1.

(8) Cf. *Calcutta Gazette* of October 13, 1785: "Colonel Martin has exhibited several balloons at Lucknow to the great astonishment and entertainment of the Shahzadeh [Mirza Jiwan Bakht] and the Vizier [Nawab Asaf-ud-daula]. The Colonel is now constructing one large enough to carry up several persons." In an earlier issue of the *Calcutta Gazette* (August 4, 1785) it is announced that a balloon "measuring six feet in diameter and filled with rarefied air" was let off from the Calcutta Esplanade on July 30 by "a young gentleman" of the name of Mr. Wintle.

(9) Charles Croftes and Richard Johnson were both civil servants.

cutting and dressing one Gold Mohur ; or for one single dressing Eight Rupees. He also begs leave to inform the Ladies that he is but lately come from Europe and has been thoroughly brought up to the above business, having served a regular Apprenticeship to a Ladies' Hairdresser and has afterwards worked for some of the first Masters in London Paris and Dublin. He hopes by his care and attention to those Ladies who may be pleased to honour him with their commands, to be able to merit their Countenance and Favour, as such shall be his entire study.

December 12, 1785.

Mr. Soubise begs leave to acquaint the Gentlemen of the settlement that he has again opened his Fencing School at the Harmonic Tavern where he attends on Mondays Wednesdays and Fridays from the hours of nine till twelve o'clock, to instruct such Gentlemen as are desirous of acquiring that useful accomplishment. His terms are Two Gold Mohurs per month and one entrance.

The intermediate days in each week he intends to appropriate to dressing horses and he hopes his professional knowledge in this art will ensure him the favour of the public (10).

October 3, 1785.

Mr. Matthew Ford, removed from the house of Towers and Allen in Old Post Office Street, to that formerly occupied by the late Mr. Rock and lately by Mr. Redhead at the entrance to the lane leading from the Theatre to the Post Office, sells a stock of wines and liquors of the first quality (11).

November 17, 1785.

As Mr. Creighton has endeavoured to exert himself to remedy the general complaints of the preceding Assemblies, he humbly hopes the subscribers will consent to the non-admission of servants except Hookah-burdars : he having engaged a superior number for the night than what has hitherto been attended to.

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(10) Julius Soubise was committed to jail by Mr. Justice Hyde on August 21, 1786, for firing a pistol loaded with ball at Hendrick (or Frederick) Deatker, a Sheriff's officer, who had arrested him for debt. His name is absent from the East India Kalendar of 1791 : but he was in Calcutta in 1796 : it is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of April 21 of that year that "the Proprietors of the Riding School" (which stood in Park Street on the site of the house built in 1808 for the Asiatic Society of Bengal) "have appointed Capt. D[E] L'Etang Master of the School and Mr. Soubise his Deputy."

(11) The original Post Office was at the corner of Church Lane and Hastings Street, and was afterwards the house of Mrs. Fay. A later Post Office was located in Old Post Office (hence the name) in a house nearly opposite the High Court. From 1775 to 1808 the Theatre was at the north-west corner of Lyon's Range immediately behind Writers' Buildings : and "the lane leading from the Theatre to the Post Office" seems to be the "Theatre Street" at Upjohn's map (1792).

November 17, 1785.

Mr. Creighton humbly hopes the subscribers to the Assemblies will pardon his requesting the indulgence of their sending to him the amount of their subscriptions: he is induced to solicit that favour in consequence of the neglect of his Sircars in not waiting on them at the proper time. He begs leave to mention that, having incurred a heavy expence by the decorations of the Harmonic House for the reception of the Ladies and Gentlemen, [he] hopes they will assist him by payment of their subscriptions before the Tickets for the assemblies are delivered (12).

[Calcutta Gazette] September 7, 1786.

Stolen out of the House of Mr. William Hickey on the Esplanade on Wednesday night the 29th August, Five Prints, two of them views in America or the West Indies, in green and gold Frames, two in oval gilt frames belonging to the set of the Sorrows of Warter, and the other, two females called Expectation.

Any Person who discovers the thief or will return the Pictures shall receive Five Gold Mohurs reward (13).

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(12) In the *Calcutta Gazette* of October 14, 1784. Creighton "humbly presumes that gentlemen will not be offended at his request that as he purchases the best of liquors, etc. for ready money, they will support him to continue that method otherwise it will affect his credit with the merchants and deprive him of giving—what will be his chief study—general satisfaction." In the same advertisement he "requests those gentlemen who have not subscribed to the assemblies will excuse his not having waited on them in person, as the repairs of the house require his utmost attention to get it forward in convenient time."

(13) Not reproduced in Seton-Karr's Selections.

# Madame Grand.

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## AN ABERDEEN LEGEND.

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WE reproduce, by permission of Mr. Alexander Keith, an interesting article which was contributed by him to the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* in October 1932.

It has been ascertained by Dr. Busteed, as the result of careful research, that Madame Grand sailed from the Hooghly in a Dutchship in December 1780. The evidence for this is the following paragraph in James Augustus Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* (December 2, 1780): "Samuel Tolfrey Esq. [who was one of the attorneys for Francis in the famous trial] has embarked for Europe with a fortune of three lakhs of rupees: he intends proceeding from Celon [*sic*] or Coringa [Vizagapatam] in the Dutch ship that carries home Mrs. G——d." At the Cape, a certain Mr. Thomas Lewin of the Madras Civil Service, came on board. The ship was waylaid in the Mediterranean by two French men of war and taken into Cadiz. From that port Madame Grand accompanied Lewin to Lisbon and thence in a Portuguese vessel to London. Here they stayed for some time at a house in Russell Place, Fitzroy Square, and subsequently went to Paris where they separated. Lewin settled an annuity upon the lady which, according to the family tradition, was paid to her during the remainder of her life.

At this stage there is a gap in the history of Madame Grand until her escape from Paris in the month of August 1792. Mr. Keith's article supplies a surprising episode which connects her, of all places in the world, with the Scottish town of Aberdeen, and which is founded upon strong local tradition.

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In Aberdeen's old kirkyard of St. Nicholas there is a stone, once raised upon two supports, but now below the level of the earth, on which there is the following inscription (deciphered sixty years ago before it became altogether illegible):—

Here lies, in the hope of a glorious Resurrection, the body of Charles Jeffreys Symes, Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Seventh Regiment of Foot, who died 26th December, 1786, in the twenty-third year of his age. Few were his days, but abundant in distinguished excellence, as the Applause of the Public, the Regrets of Friendship, and the Tears of Love indisputably prove. As a Christian, he served God by faithful obedience to his Laws.



In his Military Character he was possessed of Talents that would, had he lived longer, have entitled him to the highest Honours of his profession.

In Social and Domestic life no language can do justice to his worth ; nor can his most disconsolate widow sufficiently bewail her own and her infant's irreparable loss.

This Marble and those Lines are meant as a testimony, sincere, though inconsiderable, of her unceasing Grief for that loss, and her unalterable Love and profound Respect to his dear and honoured memory.

I have given the epitaph in full for the benefit of petential widows among my readers. In vulgar language, his relict had done the lieutenant proud ; from internal evidence we may deduce that they had not been long married. Lieutenant Symes died in 1786 of a fall while skating, but he really does not matter for the purposes of this story. What does matter is that the tradition grew, and it must have been based on something more than mere rumour—it appeared, for instance, several times in local newspapers up to 1831—that the sorrowing widow was the lady who was to become, in 1802, the wife of the great Talleyrand, Napoleon's Foreign Secretary. But if this was actually so, she was never the widow of Lieutenant Symes, for she was never his wife !

Let me explain this rather cryptic statement. If the lady did actually become the wife of Prince Talleyrand, her maiden name was Catherine Noel Worlée, the daughter of the captain of the French settlement of Pondicherry. She was born in India in 1762, and grew up an exceedingly beautiful girl. When very young she married an Englishman, George Francis Grand (some accounts make him a Swiss), in the East Indian Company service. Perhaps had Mr. Grand died at the end of a year he would have had as fine a panegyric as Symes ; but he didn't, and in the second year of their marriage there was a frightful scandal. Sir Philip Francis, who is posterity's favourite guess for the author of the anonymous "Letters of Junius," the most celebrated political polemics in British history, was at this time a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal, and about to enter a personal contest with Warren Hastings.

In Sir Philip's diary, at the date November 26, 1778, there occurs the entry, "Omnia vincit amor," which, being interpreted, means "Love triumphs over everything," and is a suspicious phrase to find anywhere. Less than a fortnight later Sir Philip was caught with Mrs. Grand in Mr. Grand's house. The entry in Sir Philip's diary for that critical date is, "At night the diable a quatre at the house of G. F. Grand, Esq." Sir Philip fled, apparently not unlike Joseph, but without his unbroken halo of virtue, was prosecuted, and had to pay Mr. Grand very heavy damages. Mrs. Grand was sent home to her parents, and Sir Philip was already married, but he contrived to get Catherine to come and live in his house, and persuaded his wife that their relations were platonic. As Mr. Duff Cooper says in his biography of Talleyrand just published, this was "a feat in comparison with which the authorship of the letters of Junius sinks into insignificance."

After a year of this singular domesticity Catherine Grand left for Europe. She must have been an extraordinarily beautiful woman then ; all accounts are agreed upon her loveliness and fascination. But from that time until just about the French Revolution she disappears from official history, and the blank might very well be filled with a meeting with Symes and a marriage with him that was bigamous or perhaps no marriage at all. She was still young and must have been glad to find security, and Symes' sudden death was a tragedy for her that we can still appreciate. According to a newspaper paragraph of 1831, she lingered on in Aberdeen for some time. "The beautiful and accomplished but disconsolate widow spent many a solitary hour in wandering about the shrubbery which then flourished where 'Love Lane' now is. She was a great favourite for her accomplishments and beauty." Eventually someone gave her money enough to leave Aberdeen. What became of the child is a mystery.

Catherine Grand seems to have returned then to France, for she was the mistress of one of Louis XVI.'s foreign ministers, deLessart, who lost his life during the Terror, and she herself had become so identified with the aristocrats that she had to come to England. The widow of Sir Philip Francis is credited with saying that he, after his return to England in 1781, crossed over to France several times to see Catherine, and they were friendly to the end. In or about 1796 she was in France again, and by some means or other acquainted with Talleyrand. By 1797 she was his acknowledged mistress, and comporting herself as the Minister's wife. About 1798 she got a divorce from Mr. Grand, and in 1802 married Talleyrand.

The great French diplomat began public life as a bishop under the Bourbons, helped to engineer four coups d'etat in France, and after being Napoleon's righthand man for a decade, finally engineered his fall. He was a celebrated ladies' man, and Catherine must have had superb beauty and charm to become his wife. Napoleon and many others declared that she had no brains and was constantly making the most amazing blunders ; but a pretence of ignorance would be invaluable to a Foreign Minister in his wife ; she could learn much more that way than if she were obviously clever, and she would give away less.

Napoleon at St. Helena said he had found her out accepting a bribe of 400,000 francs from some Genoese merchants who wanted concessions from Talleyrand. Talleyrand, incidentally, would not have worried ; he was rather fond of *douceurs* himself, though he never sold his country. But while he disliked her, Napoleon admitted that Madame Talleyrand "was a very fine woman."

Most men thought so, and things got so bad that Napoleon once upbraided Talleyrand for permitting such latitude, whereupon Talleyrand returned the remonstrance in kind, for the Emperor's wife was distinctly not above suspicion. Eventually Talleyrand and his wife separated, and she died before him. But they had the felicity, before they parted, of entertaining in their famous Neuilly villa at the same table, Sir Philip Francis and Mr. Grand. Was the ghost of Lieutenant Symes, I wonder, hovering in the background?

\* \* \* \* \*

The Legend which connects Madame Grand with the town of Aberdeen is not accepted by M. A. Lehuraux of Chandernagore, who has been making a detailed enquiry into the incidents of that lady's residence in Paris. It will be seen from the particulars published in the *Aberdeen Journal* that Lieutenant Symes, with whom her name is associated died in Aberdeen on December 26, 1786, and the story goes that she remained in Aberdeen for sometime after that event. But writes M. Lehuraux, "I find from her suppliers' bills, which I have seen in Paris that between 1786 and 1788 Madame Grand was living in Paris, in the Rue du Sentier, under the guardianship of Delessart who managed her affairs: moreover, one of her biographers (Gayot) tells us that she gave a grand ball at the house in the Rue du Sentier on February 22, 1787: these facts do not support the Aberdeen legend."

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## THE SYMES FAMILY

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A NOTE BY MAJOR HODSON.

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MAJOR V. C. P. Hodson has sent to us the following extracts from the *Aberdeen Journal Notes and Queries* (Vol. VII. 1914). These are of interest as showing that the legend was current in Aberdeen in 1807 in a strangely garbled form, the career of Madame Grand being obviously confused with that of Josephine Beauharnais, the first wife of Napoleon Bonaparte.

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P. 186. Query, No. 1112. ADJUTANT SYMES AND HIS WIFE.

The "Aberdeen Journal" of 30th September, 1807, has—"The following very singular story has been circulated with much confidence in Aberdeen:—In the year 1786, Adjutant Symes of the 7th regiment of foot, then quartered here, died in consequence of a fall received in skating, leaving a handsome young widow, then about her 20th year, but whose second husband he had been. In the spring of 1787, Mrs. Symes left this place; and a few years afterwards was at Martinique, living with a Frenchman of the name of Le Grand, who died about twelve years ago (1). Another, however, soon succeeded, and the quondam Mrs. Symes became the *chère amie* of a Frenchman, who found it convenient for a time to leave Europe. It would appear, however, that her good behaviour recommended her so strongly to

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(1) As a matter of fact, George Francis Grand died at the Cape of Good Hope on January 17, 1820: see the article by Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 71–73.

her protector, that he married her. . . . She now shares his honours and immense fortune—for the Frenchman was Talleyrand Périgord, and Mrs. Symes is now Princess of Benevento! ! !”

Wanted, further particulars regarding Adjutant Symes, his wife, and also Talleyrand.

B.

ib. pp. 223-4.

Answer. ADJUTANT SYMES AND HIS WIFE.—Near the School-hill entrance gate to St. Nicholas Churchyard is a flat stone inscribed :—

“Here rests in the Hope of a Glorious Resurrection, the Body of Charles Jeffereys Symes, Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Seventh Regiment of Foot, Royal Fusileers, who died 26th December, 1786, in the Twenty-third year of his age. Few were his days, but abundant in Distinguished Excellence, as the Applause of the Public, the Regrets of Friendship, and the Tears of love, indisputably prove. As a Christian he served God by faithful obedience to His Laws. In his Military character he was possessed of Talents that would, had he lived longer, have entitled him to the highest Honours of his Profession. In Social and Domestic life no language can do Justice to his Worth ; nor can his most disconsolate Widow sufficiently show all her own and her Infant's irreparable loss. This marble and these few lines are meant as a Testimony—sincere though inconsiderable—of her unceasing Grief for that loss and of her unalterable love and profound Respect to his Dear and Honourable Memory.”

The “most disconsolate widow” is believed to have been Catherine Noel Worlée, who, while quite a girl, had become the wife of George Francis Grand, with whom in 1778 she was resident in India. Separating from Grand some two years later she turned up in Aberdeen as the wife of Lieutenant Symes, by whom she had a posthumous child. Possessing an attractive appearance, and engaging manner, the utmost sympathy was extended to her on the sad death of the lieutenant. Indeed, a local professor narrowly escaped becoming her third husband.

The child mentioned surviving only a few months, the widow soon left Aberdeen, and next turns up as under the protection of Talleyrand, who, in 1789, was consecrated Bishop of Autun. In 1802, having been released by the Pope from his vow of celibacy, he married the lady who had been passing under the name of Mrs. Grand. Any encyclopædia will furnish an account of the career of Talleyrand, who was considered a powerful French diplomatist. In June, 1806, he was created Prince of Benevento.

C.

As regards Lieut. Symes, Major Hodson supplies the following information.

From Army List of 1786—“Cha. Jeff. Symes”—Lieut. 7th Foot (or the Royal Fusileers) 9 Nov., 1778. Adjutant 12 May, 1784.

This “Charles Jeffereys Symes” I take to be “Jefferies,” 3rd son of Richard Symes of Ballyarthur, by Eleanor, daughter of Loftus Cliffe, Esq., of Ross,

co. Wexford, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir James Jefferies, of Blarney Castle, co. Cork. The family (Symes of Ballybed, co. Wicklow) appears only in the 2nd (1848) edn. of Burke's *Landed Gentry*. Jefferies is there stated to have died unmarried. His second brother was Loftus Symes, E.I.C.S., and his youngest brother was Lt.-Col. Michael Symes (1761-1809) who commenced his military career in the Bengal Army, sailing for India on February 12, 1780 and returning to Europe on furlough on January 24, 1786 when he transferred to the newly raised 76th Foot (2) as a Lieutenant and went back to India with them in 1788 (3). Michael Symes is best known by his two missions to Ava in 1796 and 1802 and by the account which he wrote of the first mission and which was published in London in 1800. He accompanied the 76th to England in 1806 and went with them to Spain in 1808. During Sir John Moore's retreat to Corunna he behaved with great gallantry but suffered severely from the hardships of the campaign and died on board the transport *Mary*, on his voyage to England, on January 22, 1809. His body was taken from Portsmouth to Rochester and buried in the Church of St. Nicholas. A cousin, Lieut. Jeremiah Symes, served in the 35th Bengal Infantry, and went to Benares with Hastings when he was killed, with Lieutenants John Stalker and Archibald Scott, at Shivala Ghat by the armed retainers of Raja Chait Singh on August 16, 1781.

One "Jefferyes Symes" was a Pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin (July 8, 1772) and proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1777. Michael and Jeremiah Symes were also at Trinity College. The age of Jefferyes Symes on admission is omitted in the Register (one of the few cases of the kind) : but Michael is stated to have been sixteen when he was admitted on November 2, 1778. If Jefferyes Symes was the elder brother, his age (23) cannot be correctly given on the tombstone in the Aberdeen Churchyard : he could not have been a Lieutenant in 1778 (vide Army List of 1786) when he was only fourteen.



(2) The Hindostan Regiment : now the 2nd batt. Duke of Wellington's Regiment.

(3) The account of Michael Symes in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which is by Mr. Stephen Wheeler, makes no mention of his service in the Bengal Army : and the date of his birth is inaccurately given as 1753.

## The Father of Warren Hastings.

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IN the issue of *Bengal : Past and Present* for January-March, 1933 (Vol. XLV, pp. 64-66) attention was drawn to an interesting pamphlet on "The Father of Warren Hastings" by the Rev. Stephen Liberty, Vicar of Bledington, Gloucestershire (1). Mr. Liberty has now been good enough to favour us with the result of further important enquiries which he has made.

Penyston Hastings was instituted on December 16, 1730, to the vicarage of Bledington, and his son Warren was born in the neighbouring village of Churchill on December 6, 1732. In the words of the son, "my father left me when I was nine months old to take possession of a living in Barbadoes where he died about twelve years after." Hester Warren, the mother died on December 15, 1732, and on July 13, 1733 (seven months after her death) Penyston Hastings, described as of Bledington, married Mary Dandridge of Holywell, Oxford, at Bicester. What happened to him next?

The Bishop of Barbados, to whom Mr. Liberty applied for information, handed the letter to Mr. E. M. Shilstone, of Bridgetown, a local historian and antiquarian: and the following particulars have been most courteously furnished by him (2).

Penyston Hastings became Rector of Christ Church Barbados about the year 1735, married a third wife, Jemima Mascoll, on Christmas Day 1737 and died in the island at the end of 1743. The date of his succession to the living is not absolutely certain. There are entries in a Diocese Book for the Plantations at Fulham Palace which suggest that he was not inducted until 1739. If this be so, the reason must be that the authorities in London did not recognize his incumbency until he had ceded the vicarage of Bledington; and Mr. Liberty has shown in his pamphlet that the next presentation to Bledington was made on September 28, 1733, when the vacancy is stated to have been caused by "the cession of Peniston Hastings." However this may be, it would seem that he was in occupation of the Rectory of Christ Church for practical purposes on Christmas Day, 1737, for his marriage to Jemima Mascoll on that day is entered in the register of Christ Church and also in that of St. Michael's Church where the marriage was celebrated.

The will of Penyston Hastings, which was executed on December 21, 1743, was entered for probate on January 20, 1744. Mr. Shilstone has sent

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(1) Copies of the pamphlet are obtainable in Calcutta from Messrs. Newman and Co., 3 Old Court House Street.

(2) Reference to the facts had already been made by Mr. Shilstone in his "Church History of the Diocese of Barbados, 1825-1925."

a copy of the will to Mr. Liberty, together with a photograph of a portion of it and the signature. It contains some remarkable features. The following are extracts :

Item I give devise and bequeath to my said wife *Jemima* all that house and meadow land called or known by the name of the *Plow Inn* . . . situate in the Market Town of *Cheltenham* in the County of *Gloster* in the Kingdom of Great Britain . . . and all other my copyhold lands messuages and tenements to my said wife *Jemima* during her natural life and from and after her decease I give the same to my son *Warren Hastings* and to his heirs for ever subject to the payment of £500 sterling money of Great Britain which I give to my daughter *Anne Hastings* and it is my will that the same be paid her by my said son one year after he becomes possessed of the messuages and lands and tenements last named.

Item I give the advowson right of nomination presentation and free disposition of the parish Church of *Dailsford* in the County and Diocese of *Worcester* in the Kingdom of Great Britain to my said son *Warren Hastings* and his heirs for ever . . .

It is satisfactory to find that *Penyston Hastings* did not forget the son and the daughter whom he had deserted in their infancy. But had he the power to dispose of the property mentioned in his will? If we turn to the *Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife* (p. 448) we shall discover that "*Sydney C. Grier*" has investigated the matter of the *Plough Inn* at *Cheltenham* with her usual thoroughness. A petition was presented to the Lord Chancellor in 1734 by *John Warren*, the brother of *Hester Warren*, on behalf of his niece and nephew, *Ann* and *Warren Hastings*, in order to recover for them money fraudulently alienated by their father who "had lately withdrawn himself from his habitation to some distant place and left [his infant children] wholly unprovided for." From this petition it appears that a legacy received from her mother by *Haster Warren* which was settled upon herself and her children, was invested in house property at *Cheltenham*. The fate of the position has not been ascertained, but it would seem that it was successful since *Warren Hastings* mentions in 1799 that on the death in 1748 of his uncle *Howard Hastings*, who was presumably his trustee, he had received two houses at *Cheltenham* which has been turned into the *Plough Inn*, and that he had made these houses over to his sister *Ann* (3) before he started for *India* in 1750. As regards the Advowson of *Daylesford*, it is undoubtedly the case that the living was held by *Penyston Hastings* the elder, the grandfather of *Warren Hastings*, from 1701 until his death in 1752, and that *Daylesford* had been a *Hastings* property since the middle of the twelfth century. But in 1715 *Daylesford House* with the surrounding land was sold by *Penyston Hastings* the elder to a London merchant of the name of *Jacob Knight*, and was

(3) *Ann Hastings* married *John Woodman* who had been steward to the Duke of *Bridgwater* and who managed *Hasting's* money matters in *England*. He died in 1816 at the age of ninety two. Their son *Thomas* became Rector of *Daylesford* and was the father of the late Mr. *Warren Hastings Woodman-Hastings* of *Twining Gloucestershire*.

repurchased by Warren Hastings in 1788, although he did not begin to reside there permanently until his acquittal in 1795. "The rectory with its grounds was a thing apart, lest Hastings secured the advowson and presented an incumbent" (4).

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(4) See the article in *The Times* of December 6, 1932, where the facts are very clearly stated.



# The Daniells at Patna.

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## THE "COLUMN WITH THE LYON ON TOP."

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IN the April-June 1933 issue of this journal (pp. 136-137) the Editor quotes a passage from the diary of William Daniell to the effect that he and his uncle ascended to the top of the Gola at Bankipore, but "neglected seeing the Chaulees Saitoon and the column with the Lyon on the Top"; and he asks what this column can have been.

Fa-hian, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, who visited Pataliputra in the first decade of the 5th century, writes of Asoka's city of *Ni-li*, in the middle of which was a stone pillar over thirty feet in height, on the top of which was a lion. Hsüan-tsang (some 2¼ centuries later) does not mention having seen this particular column, which might have fallen meanwhile, since flood and fire had wrought havoc upon the Mauryan buildings before his time, according to the conclusions of the late Dr. D. B. Spooner. In any case, the Daniells could not have known of the reference to such a pillar by Fa-hian, the record of whose travels was not then available to English readers. We have no other record of a pillar with a lion capital at Patna; so we must look elsewhere for the column referred to by William Daniell.

Could it have been the lion pillar near Bakhra, not far from Besarh (the ancient Vaisali) in the Muzaffarpur district, which has been described by Mr. J. Stephenson in *JASB*. 1835, and by Sir Alexander Cunningham in Vol. I of his *ASI*. (1871) and figured on Plate XXII facing p. 59? The existence of this column, locally known as Bhim Sen's *lāth* ('staff' or 'pillar'), or *lāthi* ('club'), was known to previous travellers in Bihar, and was visited as early as 1670 by John Marshall, who gives an interesting description of it under date 30 July of that year. Marshall records the local tradition that the pillar was "twice [*sic*] as much under as above ground", which may be compared with Cunningham's statement that after digging down fourteen feet below the then ground level, he failed to reach the base. The site of this pillar lies about 28 miles almost due north from the Gola at Bankipore.

C. E. A. W. O.

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## The Late "Sydney C. Grier."

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WE regret to announce the death at Eastbourne on June 22 last, at the age of sixty-five, of Miss Hilda Caroline Gregg, the well-known writer of novels with an Indian historical setting, who used the pen-name of "Sydney C. Grier."

She was the daughter of the Rev. J. R. Gregg, Vicar of St. Nicholas, Deptford, and her younger brother, the Most Rev. J. A. F. Gregg, has been Protestant Archbishop of Dublin since 1920. Her uncle, Dr. Thomas Valpy French (1825-1891) was principal of St. John's College, Agra, at the time of the Mutiny and after a period of service as Vicar of Cheltenham (1865-1869) was appointed in December 1877 to be the first Bishop of Lahore: he resigned in 1887 and went as a missionary to Muscat where he died on May 14, 1891. Miss Gregg had no other connexions with India and never visited the country: but her knowledge of "things Indian" was astonishingly wide and accurate.

Her first short story was published in 1886, and this was followed by a succession of novels on Eastern subjects. In "His Excellency's English Governess" (1896) she described life in a Turkish household in Mesopotamia: in such works as "The Warden of the Marches" (1901), "The Path of Honour" (1909) and "The Keepers of the Gates" (1911) she took her readers to the North-West Frontier of India. In "Like Another Helen" (1899) she related "The History of the cruel Misfortunes and undeserved Distresses of a Young lady of virtue and sensibility, resident at Bengall during the years 1755-57": while the scene in "The Great Proconsul" (1904) is laid in the Calcutta of Hastings and Francis. The subject of "Two Strong Men", which was published in 1923, is the famous quarrel between Charles Napier and Dalhousie.

But her greatest work was her edition of the letters of Warren Hastings to his wife (1905), which was the outcome of months of patient research at the British Museum. She was one of the very few persons—if not the only person—who has systematically examined the enormous mass of correspondence contained in the Hastings MSS. and she possessed an unique knowledge of the life and work of the great Governor-General.

Ill-health prevented Miss Gregg from taking an active part in the celebrations in honour of the centenary of Hasting's birth in December last: but she was intensely interested in them all and particularly in the emendation of the inscription on the tablet in Westminster Hall which marks the spot where Hastings stood during the impeachment. It is an open secret that the form of words which was adopted by the First Commissioner of Works, was hers.

It is almost unnecessary to add that she was a consistent and warmly appreciative supporter of the Calcutta Historical Society of which she was

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a Vice-President for many years. She was a regular reader of *Bengal : Past and Present* and as recently as the end of 1932 she sent for publication an admirably written playlet based upon Chevalier's escape from Chandernagore in 1778.

EVAN COTTON.

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## The Editor's Note-Book.

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THE painting of Murshidabad, hitherto unpublished, which we reproduce in this issue through the courtesy of Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore Bahadur was presumably the work of the Daniells during their journey up the Bhagirathi in the year 1788. From W. Daniell's Journal (printed in Walker's Quarterly 35-36, 1932—to which our acknowledgments are also due) we learn that Thomas and William Daniell passed Berhampore on the 27th September. On the 30th mention is made of the wild monkeys in the vicinity, a detail which recalls Hickey's visit to Murshidabad in 1785. On the 2nd October is the entry "This morning I strained a canvas about 6 ft. by 4 ft. for the view we took yesterday". On the 3rd October "Under weigh about 5 o'clock. Passed Moorshidabad and Moradbang by 1 o'clock". On the 4th October "Un (i.e., T. Daniell)" employed on the view near Gooptiparah. I sketched on the large canvas the view of the New Canal that we took three days ago. Dead coloured the sky and water." On the 6th they are at Sute near the entrance of the Ganges. The picture referred on the 2nd may be that of Murshidabad now reproduced, though on close reading of these extracts some doubt may be felt whether the view of the New Canal taken on the 1st October can be the view of Murshidabad which was passed on the 3rd. They can hardly have been far enough up the river on the 1st, and the description of the painting is not what one would expect. Possibly it is the view "near Gooptiparah" which kept Thomas Daniell employed on the 4th. However, that may be, there cannot be much doubt that the painting is derived from a sketch made during this voyage, if not actually painted then. Further study of W. Daniell's diary would probably clear the point.

The view itself, showing the Residency to the North and the small mosque still in existence, behind which now stands the Palace built for the Nawab Bahadur in the thirties, will be of great interest to those familiar with this particularly beautiful stretch of the River Bhagirathi. The Bhagirathi at this spot presents to the eye few signs of the decay which has closed the upper reaches to river traffic except in the rains, and, notwithstanding the change in features due to the building of the modern Palace, gives much the same impression as that conveyed to the Daniells.

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MURSHIDABAD ON THE BHAGIRATHI IN 1788.  
(Showing the Nawab's Palace and the Residency)  
By THOMAS DANIELL, R.A.,  
(From the Collection of the Maharaja Tagore at the Emerald Bower).



THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES



A SURVIVOR OF THE BLACK HOLE :  
THE GRAVE OF CAPT. JOHN MILLS IN ST. PANCRAS CHURCHYARD,  
LONDON.

From a Photograph taken by Mr. Toynbee Worthy.



WE are able, through the kindness of Mr. Toynbee Worthy, of the India Office, to reproduce on the opposite page a photograph which he has recently taken of the tombstone of Captain John Mills, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, in the old graveyard of St. Pancras Church in the Euston Road, London. Holwell observes in his letter to William Davis, written from the *Syren* sloop on February 28, 1757: "Soon after Captain Mills (now Captain of the Company's Yacht) who was in possession of a seat in the window had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought forward and placed in the window." This act of humanity undoubtedly saved Holwell's life. Accompanied by three seafaring men—Dickson, Moran, and another—Mills made his way to "Surman's" (the modern Kidderpore), after the door was opened, and from there they went back to Gobindapore where they lay concealed for three days in a hut. Mills gave his pocket book, in which he had jotted down an account of the siege, to Robert Orme, and it can still be seen at the India Office (Orme MSS., O. V. Vol. 19).

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THE claim made for Captain Mills upon his tombstone, that he was the last survivor of the Black Hole, is open to question. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1811, (p. 285), in noticing his death, says:

Who was the Last Survivor?

This gentleman [Mills] was supposed to have been the only survivor of the prisoners who were immured in what was called the Black Hole, at Calcutta, but this is not exactly correct. Mr. Burdett, late of Ealing but now a resident at Southampton, is still in existence and consequently the last survivor of those who escaped from this barbarous act of Asiatic tyranny.

There is reason to believe that Burdett is the individual alluded to in a letter published in the *London Standard* of January 21, 1889, and quoted by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. The assertion is there made that in the year 1840 there was living in the neighbourhood of Hastings a man of about one hundred years old, "who had been one of those thrust into the Black Hole of Calcutta." Burdett arrived in Bengal to take up his writership on August 4, 1755 and if he was then sixteen (as is most probable) this would place the date of his birth in 1739. He was sent up to Moorshedabad with Holwell. Ensin Walcot, and Richard Court, and was dismissed from the service of the company in 1765 for his opposition to Clive's administrative reforms. Another survivor was living in Calcutta at the time of Mills' death. On October 19, 1815, the *Calcutta Gazette* published the following obituary notice:

On the 10th October 1815 at Calcutta Mrs. Knox aged 74 years. She was the last of those who survived the horrors of the Black Hole

in 1756. She was then 14 years of age and was the wife of Dr. Knox. The day before she died she went out to take an airing in her palankeen and preserved her faculties entire to the last.

If this lady was 74 in 1815, she must have been born in 1741 and was therefore fifteen in 1756. It would seem that she was the wife of the younger of two surgeons of the name of John Knox. According to Mills, "two Dr. Noxes" escaped to Fulta.

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IT will be noticed that the stone has been broken and that the upper part has disappeared. The late Mr. S. C. Hill, in an interesting account of Captain Mills which was published in *Bengal : Past and Present* in 1924 (Vol. XXVIII. pp. 14-30) has told us that the upper part was inscribed to the memory of Mrs. Isabella Mills who, under the name of Mrs. Vincent, created the part of Polly Peachum in the *Beggar's opera*, and who died on June 9, 1802, at the age of 67. When Mr. Hill saw the tombstone, a few verses could be deciphered, but these are now obliterated, with the rest of the inscription. The marriage took place at the Savoy Chapel on October 24, 1767, and Mrs. Mills went out to Calcutta with her husband in the following year. A son, John Wedderburn Samuel Thomas Mills was baptized in Calcutta on March 15, 1769, and died on July 16. The father and mother appear to have left India very shortly afterwards: for we find Mrs. Mills again playing the part of Polly Peachum in London in 1771 and 1772. She was a noted beauty, and her portrait was painted by George Engleheart and engraved in mezzotint by J. R. Smith in 1786. By a strange coincidence another John Mills commanded the company's Yacht *Charlotte* from 1786 to 1800 and died in Calcutta in 1814. He was buried in the South Park Street cemetery.

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MAJOR HODSON informs us of an interesting discovery which has been made with regard to Gabriel Boughton, who came out to Surat as Surgeon of the *Hopewell* Indiaman and was sent to the Court of Shah Jahan at Agra in 1644, or early in 1645, at the request of Asalat Khan the *mir bakhshi* or paymaster-general of the Empire. From Agra he went with Asalat Khan and another Englishman of the name of Barnas to Balkh in Central Asia; and we next hear of him in 1647 when he was attached to the Court of Shah Shuja the Viceroy of Bengal. At the end of 1650 he was with Shah Shuja at Rajmahal: and it was then that the famous *farman* (of which a copy can be seen at the

British Museum) was granted to him which gave him liberty to trade. The commonly accepted story of his cure of the princess Jahan-ara has been disproved: the accident to the princess took place a year before Boughton came to Agra and she was treated by Anitulla the most celebrated *hakim* of the time. Boughton is believed to have died in Bengal before August 1653, but the date and place of his death have not been ascertained. The discovery now made relates to his earlier years. Mrs. E. P. Hart who has compiled a lengthy addenda to the Rev. C. J. Robinson's "Register of Merchant Taylors' School 1562-1874", has ascertained that a certain Gabriel Boughton entered the school in 1631 and left in the following year. This would place the date of his birth about the year 1619. It is hoped he obtain further particulars with regard to his parentage.

**T**WO biographical notices of Swiss officers in the service of the East India Company have recently been published. The first of these relates to

Swiss officers in the  
service of the E. I. Com-  
pany.

Paul Philippe Polier de Bottens, the uncle of Col. Anthony Polier, Chief Engineer in Bengal, who is one of those in Zoffany's picture of "Claude Martin and his Friends", recently acquired for the Victoria Memorial Hall. Dr. Emile Piguet of Neuchâtel, in the course of an article in the *Revue Historique Vandoise* for May-June 1933, reprints a letter addressed by the Elder Polier from Madras on July 20, 1758, to his friend Capt. J. F. Paschoud in Bengal, in which he describes the circumstances in which he surrendered Fort St. David to Lally on June 1 of that year. Paul Philippe Polier was baptized at Lausanne on April 24, 1711, and after serving as a captain in the Sardinian army and as major in the militia of Berne, received a commission in the forces of the East India Company "on the coast of Coromandel" on December 24, 1751 and was appointed to the command of the third of the four companies of Swiss infantry which were raised in 1751-1752. He was promoted in 1757 to the rank of major and was in charge of Fort St. David when it was besieged by Lally. He remained a prisoner in the hands of the French until the spring of 1759 and died at Fort St. George in the same year—from plague, according to one account, from wounds received in a sortie during the siege of Madras, according to Orme.

**T**HE career of the other Swiss Officer, Jean François Paschoud, is traced by Dr. Piguet in the *Recueil des Généalogies Vandoises* (Vol. II, Part III).

His uncle, whose Christian names were identical with his: was ordained deacon in the Church of England

The Paschoud Family.  
in 1724 and priest in 1730, was perpetual curate of Albrighton, and died in 1757. He himself was born in 1725, and, having been nominated to the company of Swiss artillery which was being raised for service on the Coromandel coast, embarked on the *Montfort* for Madras in 1753. Coming

to Bengal with Clive, he took part in the capture of Chandernagore and the battle of Plassey. When he resigned the company's service in 1759, he was commanding the artillery at Fort William. After his return he purchased the Seigneurie of Daillens in the canton of Vaud and died there on January 28, 1783. Both his sons, Jean Francois III (1762-1814) and Charles Frédéric, (1770-1812) served in Bengal. The elder obtained an artillery cadetship in 1782, and fought at the capture of Seringapatam and in Lord Lake's campaigns, being wounded at the siege of Dig. So in 1812 he was transferred as a Lieutenant-Colonel to the invalid establishment and appointed to command at Chunar where he died on January 18, 1814. He left two sons by an Indian lady, Francis who became interpreter to the Court of Requests at Calcutta, and Charles, a merchant at Allahabad, who died in 1847 or 1848. Charles Frédéric, the younger son of Jean Francois Paschoud, arrived in Bengal in 1791: and at the time of his death at Delhi on September 1, 1812, was a Captain in the 3rd Bengal Infantry. A natural son of his, Charles Paschoud, is stated to have been alive in India in 1855. Dr. Piguet mentions another member of the family: George, an officer in the Army, who died at Hyderabad in 1802 or 1803, but is unable to establish his connexion with the Daillens branch.

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**A** LAUSANNE bookseller, M. F. C. Lonchamp of the Librairie des Bibliophiles, 12 Rue du Midi, has for sale a series of fourteen watercolour sketches of the various uniforms of the Regiment de Meuron, the famous Swiss proprietary regiment which was in the service of the East India Company from 1795 to 1816. The price asked is 280 Swiss francs: The *locus classicus* on the subject of the Regiment de Meuron is an article by the late Mr. J. J. Cotton which was published in the *Calcutta Review* in 1903. The regiment took part in the capture of Seringapatam on May 4, 1799 and a private of the name of Christenau who was afterwards Master of the Garrison Band at Fort St. George, is said to have been the soldier who killed Tippoo. In October 1806 the regiment sailed from Madras and served thereafter at Gosport, Gibraltar and Malta, and finally in Upper Canada. It was disbanded on June 24, 1816.

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**A** TOMB in the Fort cemetery at Farrukhabad is inscribed to the memory of Lieutenant Samuel Skardon who died on October 30, 1788, aged 57 years, and it is stated to have been "erected by his friend Captain Richard Ramsay". Ramsay enjoys an unenviable reputation as the officer who deserted after the battle of Bhitaura on October 26, 1794, rather than face an enquiry into his conduct. He was ordered to charge the Rohillas with the Light Cavalry, of which he was in command, but presented his flank to the enemy, who promptly took advantage of the opportunity. Colonel Burrington, Major Bolton and twelve other

officers, whose names may be read on the Rohilla monument in St. John's Churchyard, were killed, and defeat was narrowly averted. The arrest of Ramsay was ordered, but he escaped, and, according to William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. IV. p. 124), "was seen and recognized two years later in Scotland, where he was living under an assumed name." Major Hodson, who has become the fortunate possessor of a set of the four volumes (all that were published) of the *Naval and Military Magazine* for 1827-1828, enables us to carry the story a stage further. The fourth volume (December 1828, pp. 361-362) contains the private journal of lieut. Richard Scott, the brother of Major John Scott-Waring, who acted as agent in London for Warren Hastings. Scott writes:

Captain Ramsay, the officer commanding the cavalry, immediately absconded from the field of battle to avoid a court-martial for his infatuated conduct. What adds to its inexplicability is, that he had previously served with distinction in all the campaigns under General Goddard, had near and valuable relations in the service to excite him to meritorious exertion. However, he deserted across the country to Bombay, where he embarked for Europe: and several years afterwards the late Lieut. Col. Edwards, who was at the battle of Beetora, stated that he saw Capt. Ramsay at his residence near Brussels and that during the preceding war, he had actually been employed in the Commissariat Department of Buonaparte.

There are allusions to this incident in Thomas Twining's *Travels in India* (pp. 173-174) and Major Archer's *Tours in Upper India* (Vol. II. p. 12). Archer, whose book was published in 1833, and who was aide-de-camp no Lord combermere, writes: "The officer who achieved this deathless infamy is still (December 1828) alive and recently resided on the continent." He corroborates the story that Ramsay "had for sometime a post on Buonaparte's commissariat", and suggests that he may have been bribed by the Rohillas to act as he did at Bhitaura. Col. Thomas Edwards, who is mentioned in Scott's journal, gave evidence at the trial of Warren Hastings and was drowned off Ostend on November 15, 1815 in the wreck of the ship in which he was returning to his family in Brussels. The *Gentleman's Magazine* describes him in its obituary notice as "A. D. C. to the late Nabob of Oude, Resident [sic] at Lucknow."

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AT the time when the note in our last issue (p. 138) on "Lucknow Residency Survivors" was written, we were unaware that yet another vacancy had occurred. Brother William Hayward

A Lucknow Residency Survivor. Williams, who had been for some years one of the pensioners at St. Cross Hospital, Winchester, died at that place on February 2, 1933; at the age of 85. He was a boy of nine when he was besieged with his parents in the Residency and remembered how a shell burst killing his infant sister in his mother's arms. His father was connected by marriage with Sir Henry Lawrence. After the relief he

came to England and took his degree at Cambridge where also he was twice coxswain of the University crew. Later on he lived abroad. His was a tragic life, for he was ruined by the defalcations of a solicitor and his wife and two children were killed before his eyes in a railway accident.

THE following story of a lost V. C. gained by one of the heroes of the Lucknow Residency is communicated by Colonel William Capper, C. V. O., Eldest son of the late Mr. William Copeland Capper, B.C.S. one of the garrison of Anderson's Post whose rescue under heavy fire from the ruins of a fallen verandah earned another cross for Corporal Oxenham of the 32nd Foot :

The terms of the original warrant instituting the Victoria Cross and bearing date January 29, 1856, restricted its award to members of Her Majesty's Army and Navy ; and it was not until October 29, 1857 that the terms of the warrant were extended to include the European troops of the East India Company.

Throughout the whole of the siege of the Lucknow Residency Lieutenant Robert Hope Moncreiff Aitken with a body of faithful sepoys of the 13th Bengal Infantry, held the important post known as the Baillie Guard. By a notification no. 22727 in the *London Gazette* of April 16/17, 1863, the Victoria Cross was conferred upon him "for various acts of gallantry performed during the defence of the Residency of Lucknow from June 30 to November 22, 1857 numbering five in all."

Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn) who was then commander in chief in India, when on a visit of inspection to Lucknow, directed a general parade of the garrison to witness the presentation of the Cross. The troops were duly assembled. The Cross was placed on His Excellency's table, but when an aide-de-camp went to fetch it, it had disappeared and could not be found. It so happened, however, that Major-General (afterwards Sir) Henry Tombs, the G. O. C. Lucknow division had won the cross at the siege of Delhi, and his decoration was used for the purpose of the presentation.

The loss was reported to the Horse Guards, and Her Majesty directed that another Cross should be issued. Colonel Aitken died on September 18, 1887 and his widow (who was with him during the siege of the Residency) preserved the Cross which is still in the possession of the family. But, to her great surprise she learned some years after her husband's death that his Cross had been sold at public auction. Among the effects of a London solicitor who had died was an old-fashioned writing desk. The purchaser of this upon examining it found the missing V. C. in a secret drawer. He sold it to Major Judge of the 2nd P. W. O. Gurkha Rifles, who was a collector of medals : and upon Major Judge's death, his collection was sold at Sotheby's. The V. C. fetched £105.

Upon these facts coming to the notice of Mrs. Aitken, the War

Office was informed: and three months later a reply was received stating that the Cross had been called in and destroyed. By a curious coincidence, the name of the solicitor was the same as that of an English servant who was in the employ of Sir Hugh Rose at the time of the presentation.

Colonel Aitken completed his Indian service as Inspector-General of Police in Oudh.

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LIEUT.-COLONEL ARNOLD DASHWOOD STRETTELL, a former commandant of the 5th Punjab Infantry (Vaughan's Rifles), who died at Hythe in his eighty-ninth year on April 11, 1933, An old Calcutta Family. belonged to an old Calcutta family. His grandfather, Edward Strettell "son of T. Strettell Esq. Cork" arrived in Calcutta on the *Phoenix* in 1788, and was admitted on October 24 as an Advocate of the Supreme Court at Fort William. Two days earlier, on October 22, he had married Elizabeth Child; and it is worthy of record that Charles Child (who was probably related to the lady), died in Calcutta on July 9, 1817, at the age of 99 years and 10 months. Strettell was for many years Standing Counsel and after acting as Advocate-General from 1801 (on the resignation of Sir William Burroughs) until 1803, was permanently appointed in March 1811 in succession to Robert Percy Smith and held the office until 1816 when he retired. He had a large family, and eighteen Strettells have served continuously in India. Col. A. D. Strettell, who was born at Belgaum on March 15, 1845, was the son of Major Dashwood Strettell of the Madras Army, and came home with his parents when a child in a sailing ship round the Cape. He entered the Indian Army in 1862 and retired in 1894. His uncle, Lieut. Edward Francis Strettell of the Bengal Army, who died at Saugor on September 3, 1817 at the age of 27, was in the same farm at Eton with Percy Bysshe Shelley.

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THE "Group of Bengal Officers," of which a detailed description and an illustration were given in our January-March number (Vol. XLV, pp. 1-4) was sold at Christie's on June 23 last and was brought by Messrs. Spink and Son, the well-known art dealers of King Street, St. James's. It was catalogued under the title of "General Stibbert and his staff in the Council Chamber at Calcutta," and Zoffany was named as the artist. We understand that the attribution to Zoffany was made upon high authority: and there can be no doubt that the picture is very characteristic of him.

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**A**LLUSIONS have been made from time to time in *Bengal : Past and Present* to the large portrait of Lord Metcalfe, which was formerly in the Town Hall, and was transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the Calcutta Corporation in 1914.

Portraits of Lord Metcalfe in Calcutta.

It has become an accepted tradition that the picture was the work of Charles Pote, an Anglo-Indian artist, who executed the altar-piece representing the last supper in the Armenian Church at Dacca, and who died at that place in 1859. But it is clearly a replica of the picture in the Viceroy's collection, now at Belvedere, which in its turn is undoubtedly a copy of F. R. Say's portrait at the Oriental Club in London, and was painted by John "Hayes of Berners Street," as the inscription testifies. The records of the Oriental Club show that on May 27, 1857, the Secretary to the Chairman of the Court of Directors wrote to the committee of the Club, requesting permission for copies to be taken "for the Council Chamber at Calcutta" of Samuel Lane's portrait of the Marquess of Hastings and Say's picture of Lord Metcalfe which had been painted in 1843. Ten years later, in March 1867 another copy of Say's portrait was made "for the Calcutta Town Hall," on the application of Colonel James Metcalfe (1817-1888), the natural son of Lord Metcalfe, to whom he left £50,000. The minutes of the Club Committee show that the picture was "sent to the studio of Mr. Koteswein, No. 8 Berners Street, to be copied." Apparently, an earlier portrait, which was presented by the Anglo-Indian community and hung in the Town Hall, had disappeared. We know from the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 1, 1835, that there was such a painting and that it was the work, not of Pote, but of another Anglo-Indian artist, George H. Swaine. It was handed over to Sir Charles Metcalfe, and was placed for a time in Government House before its removal to the Town Hall. From Alexander's *East India Magazine* for February 1836. We obtain confirmation of the fact that this portrait was painted by Swaine, who died in Calcutta on January 17, 1840; and we learn further that it was "suspended over the first landing-place of the staircase on the left on entering the north side of the building." It was still there in 1849, for it is mentioned in an inventory of the Town Hall pictures prepared in that year. But it is not the picture which hangs in the Victoria Memorial Hall and which, as we have said, is one of the replicas of Say's portrait.

**T**HERE is also a painting at Government House, Allahabad which formed part of the art collection of the Begum Samru at Sardhana and which is catalogued as a portrait of Lord Metcalfe. The identification is doubtful. Mr. H. G. Keene, C.I.E., who was Judge of Meerut at the time, visited Sardhana in 1880 and wrote an account of the Palace and the pictures for the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. LXX); in the course of which he expresses the opinion (p. 460) that the portrait, although labelled "Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Metcalfe," probably represents his younger brother, Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe (1795-1853), the fourth baronet and a Bengal writer of 1812, who was appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Delhi in 1835 and died at that place on



November 4, 1853. Two of his sons also served in Bengal: Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, c.B. (B. C. S. 1848-1866) and Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, c.S.I. (B. C. S. 1857-1889), the father of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, the seventh and present baronet. The sixth baronet Sir Charles Metcalfe (1853-1928) who was the son of Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe and Augusta Low, the grand-daughter of John Talbot Shakespear, B. C. S., and Augusta Thackeray, was a famous engineer and built the Zambezi bridge over the Victoria Falls.

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CAPT. BULLOCK sends an interesting footnote to the article on "Three Sea Captains", which was published in our last issue (Vol. XLV, Part II). The extract is taken from the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1799 (Chronicle, p. 178):

10 August 1798, in Fort William, at the quarters of the Hon. Col. Wellesley, after a short but severe illness, in the 28th year of his age. A. Hunt Esq., late Captain in the Royal Navy and commander of His Majesty's ship *La Virginie*.

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ARTHUR WELLESLEY had arrived in Calcutta on February 17, 1797, as a passenger on board the *Fox* frigate (Capt. Pulteney Malcolm), his regiment, the 33rd Foot (now the 1st batt. Duke of Wellington's Regiment) having been ordered to Bengal. He presided at the St. Patrick's Day Dinner on March 17 (Hickey, Vol. IV, p. 154) and attended a dinner given by William Hickey in celebration of the King's birth-day on June 4 (ibid, p. 160). Shortly after this he left to take part in an expedition to Manila, but it was countermanded and he returned from Penang to Madras. On April 10, 1798, he embarked from Madras in the *Endeavour* (Capt. R. W. Eastwick) and arrived in the Hooghly on May 3. It is a matter of common knowledge that he was actively engaged thereafter with his regiment in the operations in Mysore which ended in the fall of Seringapatam on May 4, 1799. Hickey, who seems to have known him well in those days, confesses to deep admiration of his abilities in another direction. In writing of a certain entertainment which took place at "the pretty village of Aylpore", he classes him and Colonel Sherbrooke, who was then commanding the 33rd, among the eight most "strong headed fellows to be found in Hindostan": Wellesley paid a second visit to Calcutta in 1804, when he arrived off the Sandheads from Madras on August 8 in His Majesty's sloop *Victor* and landed at "the Governor-General's Ghaut" on August 12 (*Calcutta Gazette*, August 16, 1804). He returned to Madras on November 12, 1804, and sailed for Europe in the *Trident* on March 9, 1805 (*Madras Gazette* March 14, 1805).

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A MEETING was held at the Indian Museum on August 15, when it was resolved to establish an Indian Academy of Arts. Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee presided, and an important speech was made by Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore, whose interests in the fine arts is well known, and who has been the prime mover in the matter. Membership of the Academy will be open to all British subjects, and it is intended to hold an annual exhibition of works of art at Calcutta. Committees were appointed to work out the details of the scheme, which starts accordingly under the most favourable auspices and should be assured of success.

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## ERRATUM.

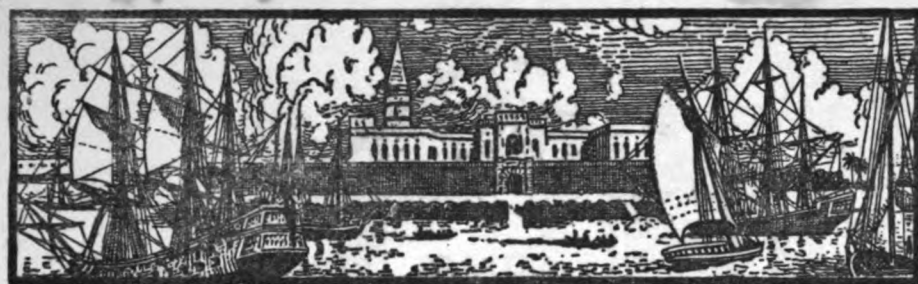
In publishing in our last issue the diary of the Voyage of H. M. S. *Harwich* to India in 1745-1749, discovered by Mr. A. Cassells in the General Register House, Edinburgh, the following note found with the manuscript was attributed to John Bruce among whose collection of papers the manuscript was found.

"In searching an old desk I found the Journal of a Voyage to India in the *Harwich* which had remained at the bottom under other useless Books unnoticed for 50 years past, and that I might amuse a solitary hour with the retrospect of Scenes in early Life I determined to revise, correct and transcribe it with such authentic additions as I could recollect—Being this 2nd May 1801 within a few days of my 80th Year."

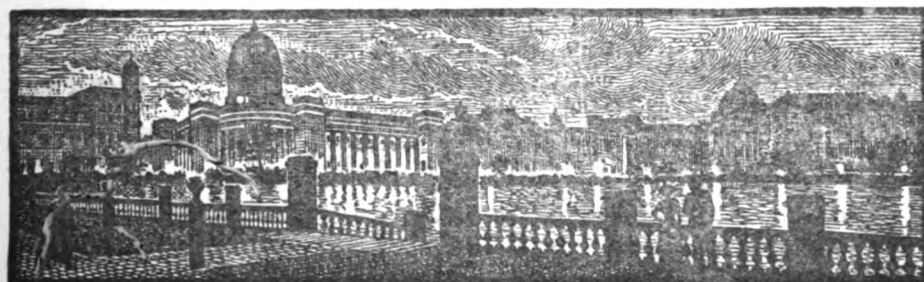
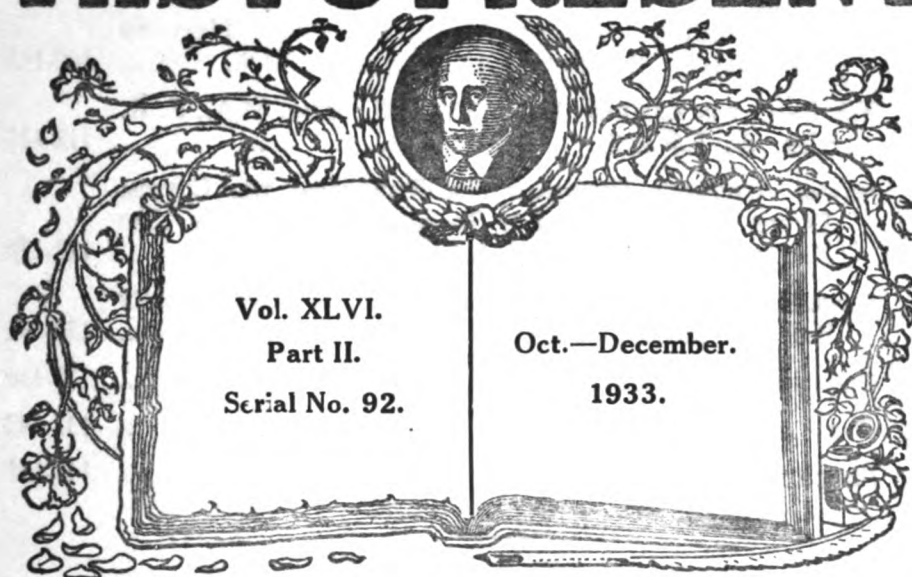
The attribution of this note to John Bruce was an editorial error, the note being in fact by the author of the Journal published.

ED.





# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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*BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.*  
*VOL. XLVI.*



No. 8, OLD COURT HOUSE CORNER, CALCUTTA,  
PREMISES OF STEUART AND CO.  
FROM 1788 TO 1907.



# A Famous Calcutta Firm.

## THE STORY OF STEUART AND CO.

SOME two years ago a writer in *Capital* compiled a list of old-established Calcutta firms (1). Prominent among them is Steuart & Co.—familiarily known to ticca gharry wallahs as “Buggy Steuart” in days when horse-drawn vehicles and palankeens monopolized the roads. There is a strong tradition that the business dates back to the year 1775, and it is quite probable that it was founded in that year under another name; but the association of the Steuarts with it actually began in 1783, when, as we shall see, a certain James Steuart arrived in Calcutta. For a century and a half, therefore, the house of Steuart and Co. has carried on business in the City of Palaces without interruption and under the same name.

In the East India Register for 1790 the names of the following coach-makers are given in the list of European inhabitants in Bengal:

Edward Candler: [arr. by] Cumberland 1776.  
John Coulton, Jessore: French ship 1775.  
Robert Grange: Talbot, 1779.  
William Grange: Macartney 1783.  
Richard Haigh: Princess Royal, 1780.  
James Macnicol: Kent, 1783.  
James Stewart [sic]: Crocodile, 1783.  
Robert Stewart [sic]: Portuguese ship, 1784.  
Thomas Watson: Winterton, 1785.  
James Watson: Fortitude, 1781.

Belonging to an earlier generation was William Johnson, coachmaker, who died in Calcutta on October 8, 1784. Although there is no authority for the supposition, the dates suggest that James Steuart stepped into the shoes of Johnson, and took on his business as a going concern.

Eight years later—in 1798—the names of Candler, Haigh (who died in Calcutta on December 3, 1790), Macnicol, James Steuart and the Watsons have disappeared from the list, and their places are taken by the following:

George Bennett: 1780.  
William Middleship: 1794.  
Thomas Mandsley: Lansdown, 1786.  
(formerly an undertaker).

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(1) The oldest existing firms in Calcutta, according to the writer in *Capital* (December 17, 1931), are: Ranken and Co., tailors, 1770: Steuart and Co., coachmakers, 1775: Harman and Co., tailors, 1778: W. H. Harton and Co., rope-merchants, 1780: and Burn and Co., Engineers, 1782. The dates, however, in some cases require further investigation.

J. Gordon.

Henry Brown: Presidency, 1778.

Joseph Baker, carriage spring maker.

In 1808 the number of persons described as coachmakers is thirteen. It will be observed that the "House of Stewart and Co." is composed of Robert and William Steuart, Thomas Fortune, and William Middleship.

Joseph Baker, coachmaker, Benares.

Thomas Duckit, coachmaker, Cossitollah-Street.

John Evans, coachmaker, 1795.

Thomas Fortune, house of Stewart and Co., Calcutta.

George Gibson, coachmaker (Parkins and Gibson).

Alex. Gordon, sadler [*sic*] and coachmaker.

William Middleship, assistant to Stewart and Co., coachmakers.

M. Moran, coach and cabinet maker, Bankipore.

William Morrison, coachmaker, Calcutta.

J. W. Parkins, coachmaker, Cossitollah Street (Parkins and Gibson).

William Stewart [*sic*], coachmaker (house of Stewart and Co.)

Robert Stewart [*sic*], coachmaker.

James and Robert Steuart, for so they spelled their surname in spite of the persistent substitution of "w" for "u", were thus the founders of the firm of Steuart and Co. The former was born in 1759 and died in 1832; the latter was born in 1763 and died in 1827. They were the sons of Robert Steuart (1729-1802) of Dalserf in the county of Lanark, a cadet of the family of Steuarts, baronets, of Allanton, Coltness, and Allanbank. James Steuart, as we have seen, was the first to arrive in India. He came out in 1783 at the age of twenty-four, and was followed a year later by his brother. In 1795 their half brother William Steuart (1775-1822) joined them, and James Steuart, returning to Europe, married Mary Sword in 1796 and bought the estate of Carfin. He was the grand-father of Captain Robert Steuart (1838-1920) of Westwood, whose son, Major C. B. Steuart, late of the Bengal Scots Fusiliers, is the present representative of the family (2).

Robert Steuart was still in Calcutta in 1808, according to the East India Register for that year. After his retirement he married a Miss Stewart of Grandtully, and bought the estate of Alderton in East Lothian. He had two sons, of whom the elder, Robert, became a member of Parliament, and the younger, William Drummond Steuart, is mentioned below.

William Steuart, who lived with his half brother Robert at Alderton after leaving Calcutta, never married: but it would appear from his will, which disposed of some £56,000, that he left £20,000 to his two natural sons, General Charles Steuart, of the 14th Hussars, who was wounded at Chillianwallah, and Archibald Steuart, M.D., £10,000 to three natural daughters, and £10,000 to his nephew William Drummond Steuart.

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(2) I am indebted for these details to Major Steuart and also to Mr. J. K. Stewart, C.B.E., Hon. Secretary of the Stewart Society.

There are not many allusions to Steuart and Co. in the Calcutta newspapers of the period. The earliest would seem to be the following which are taken from the *India Gazette* :

January 3, 1785.—To be sold a Handsome Europe Post Chaise, new lined and painted with elegant medallions on the doors. Price 2000 S. R. [sicca rupees]. Also a very handsome new Buggy and harness with a remarkable quick Trotting Horse. Price 1000 S. R. Enquire at Messrs. Stewart's, Calcutta.

January 31, 1785.—To be sold a Phaeton in perfect repair with a Set of Horses perfectly broke. Enquiries at Messrs. Stewards [sic] and to be seen at Captain Fraser's house in the Cossitollah Bazar.

The next two extracts are taken from the *Calcutta Gazette* : and are reproduced in Seton-Karr's Selections :

Thursday, March 17, 1785.

*For Sale at Messrs. Stewarts, Coachmakers.*

A new elegant Europe Gigg ; to save trouble ; price 800 Sicca Rupees.

By applying as above Gentlemen in the country building Chariots, Phaetons, or Buggies may be supplied with the best Europe articles for that purpose on reasonable terms.

Thursday, December 8, 1785.

*To be Ruffed for at Messrs. Stewarts, Coachmakers.*

A new, elegant, and fashionable Europe Coach, with a set of Plated Harness for Four Horses, with Postilion Saddles, and long spare Traces.

The Coach and Harness cost 6000 Rupees. Thirty subscribers at Rupees 200 each.

Gentlemen wishing to subscribe will please intimate their names to Messrs. Stewarts.

There is a passage in the diary of William Daniell which may refer to James Steuart. Daniell and his uncle were on their way "up the country" in a budgerow in 1788. When at Monghyr on October 23, "Mr. James Steward [sic] arrived ; he sent one of his Klausses [Khalasis] to enquire whose boat ours was ; on being informed it was Mr. Daniell's he came on board immediately . . . Mr. J. Steward took the little Picture for Dr. Brown under his care and promised to deliver to Mr. Hague". (3)

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 28, 1791, we read :

The third day's drawing of the Bengal Lottery took place on Tuesday. No. 1158 was drawn a prize of Rs. 20,000, and no 3706 a prize of Rs. 10,000. The first was a ticket jointly drawn by

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(3) Dr. George Brown, was surgeon of the *Atlas* Indiaman (Capt. Allen Cooper) which which had brought the Daniells out to Canton in 1785 ; and she had made a voyage to Bengal in 1787-1788. Edmund Hague of Queen Anne Street East, whom Daniell describes in a letter to Ozias Humphry as an architect who "paints ceilings friezes and chimneypieces in a grotesque way" was one of those who stood security for Thomas Daniell when he obtained permission to "proceed to Bengal to follow his profession as an engraver."

Howell Williams, Esq., of Tumlook and Mr. Robert Stuart [*sic*]. Coachmaker, Calcutta : the latter belongs to Henry Ramus, Esq.

A notice of a different kind was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of November 8, 1792. From it we learn the original name of the firm.

Europe Chariots, Phaetons, and Buggies.

J. and R. Stewart

Have received for sale a few superiorly finished Chariots, the carriage parts of which are particularly light and neat with bell pattern coachboxes. The bodies are lined with cool striped silk and mohair, handsomely run with plated mouldings and ornamented with three elegant Italian lamps in front.

These chariots, as well as the phaetons and buggies, are finished with the best materials and according to the most approved taste, having been particularly commissioned for this country and built under the direction of Mr. J. Stewart in London ; it is therefore presumed they will be found genuine.

J. and R. S. have also two remarkable light new strait perch Post Chaises, and very good secondhand Europe Chariots, likewise Chariots, Phaetons and Buggies in the frame from England, to be painted and lined agreeable to the wish of purchasers here.

From the language used in this advertisements, it would seem that James Steuart paid a visit to England about this period : and (possibly) that a branch had been opened in London. This would account for the commission given to him by the Daniells at Monghyr in October 1788.

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 11, 1799, we find the firm under another name.

Stewart Maudsley and Gordon have received for sale on commission Three Elegant Perch Chariots and Post Chaise, imported on the *Thetis*. These chaises were built by Messrs. Houlditch and Co. of Long Acre, London ; are finished in the most fashionable manner, and are to be sold on moderate terms.

We have already met with Thomas Maudsley (who was an Ex-under-taker!) and J. Gordon in our Extract from the East India Register for 1798.

An interesting description of the type of "English Coach" turned out by Steuart and Co. may be found on pp. 179-180 of the "Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindoostan comprising a period between the year 1804 and 1814" by A. D. (Mrs. Ann Deane), a somewhat rare book published in London in 1823. The writer was visiting the Begum Sumroo in her palace at Sardhana near Meerut :

We saw a number of fine horses in the Begum's Stables, and an English coach that had lately been built for her in Calcutta, which was to be drawn by four of them, with two postilions. I had the pleasure of accompanying her in it. The carriage was painted a bright yellow, with silver mouldings, lined with violet-coloured satin, embroidered all over with silver stars. The window frames of solid

silver: the lace and hangings silver ribbon, wove in a pattern, and very substantial, with silver bullion tassels. The wheels were dark blue, to match the lining. The postilions wore scarlet jackets and caps almost covered with silver lace.

In 1807 the firm had reverted to the style of Steuart and Co. The *Calcutta Gazette*, in January of that year, publishes a long account of the "State Equipage allowed by Government to His Excellency the Persian Ambassador during his residence in this Presidency" and announces that the horses and vehicles will be sold by auction without reserve by Mr. De L' Etang at the Manège of the Repository. Towards the end details are given of two carriages which "may be considered as sound as when [they] came out of Messrs. Stewart and Co.'s Yard."

Lot 9. A handsome Coach on a perch carriage, the body painted a fine dark blue, with a rich fillet of gold, and handsome mantles all round the pannels, the carriage part of a fine vermilion, with light blue mouldings, the whole richly varnished, and the springs gilt, the lining water-gabby (*sic*), trimmed with a most rich and appropriate lace, a full trimmed hammer cloth to the Coachman-seat, front and hind lamps.

Lot 10. A most elegant Phaeton of a middling size, a crape-necked carriage, light blue body, with rich and highly finished mouldings and varnished, the lining water gabby, with an elegant trimming: there is a hood and lamp attached to it.

Other vehicles in the list are "a Rumbler Tumbler Buggy" and a second hand Post Chaise. Others again are mentioned in an Earlier advertisement (1806) by the rival firm of J. W. Perkins of 63 Cossitollah. We read of curricles, gigs, and "Europe made sociables". Mr. Parkins whose later career is known, figures in the East India Register of 1808 as the partner of George Gibson.

In the same year (1807) Messrs. Stuart and Co. announce on March 18 that they desire to hire "an accommodation Boat for the four months next ensuing, during the southerly monsoon" and "a clever Boat, upon the new principle, for the particular purpose of crossing the great River, daily, from Chandpaul Ghaut to Seevpore". There was evidently a yard or manufactory at Sibpur, the finishing processes being carried out in Calcutta.

In January 1909 Williams and Hohler inform the Calcutta public that they intend to sell by auction a number of valuable horses and carriages, including "a very handsome curricule, lately built by Messrs. Stewart and Morrison, painted King's yellow, lined with green Morocco, with Hood, Apron, and Lamps." From this it would appear that "William Morrison, Coachmaker Calcutta," whose name is given in the East India Register of 1808 had joined the firm.

Evidence that "Buggy" Steuart had become one of the institutions of Calcutta is supplied by a poem entitled "Calcutta in 1811" which endeavours to draw a picture of the evening drive on the "course", where "ten mouthfuls of dust" were swallowed for one of fresh air.

Sedate they quit the ruminating chair,  
 And breathe abroad the evening dust and air ;  
 As dips the Sun, of dazzling splendour shorn,  
 When the wide Fort resounds the evening horn,  
 Full many a soddened form, in jacket white,  
 Wings on the thronging course his airy flight,  
 Borne on the steed, or, perched with whip and reins.  
 In a dear specimen of Steuart's pains.

The activities of the firm were not confined to horse-drawn vehicles. William Baillie (whose views of Calcutta in 1792 may be seen at the Victoria Memorial Hall) writes to his fellow-artist Ozias Humphry on October 4, 1795 (4):

There is a Mr. Solvyns, a Flemish artist (from Brussels) who arrived here about four years ago (5) . . . . He has picked up a good deal of money, I believe, from Stewart the Coachmaker for embellishing palankeens—I do not mean common ones but some that he has made for the country princes. The two first were ordered by Lord Cornwallis for the Mysore Princes and were valued at about 6 or 7000 Rs. The ornamental painting did Solvyns much credit—in one colour only on a gold ground. You can conceive nothing superior to the workmanship of these Palankeens (except some more expensive ones made since)—all the metal with feet etc. overlaid with silver and in some parts solid silver, the lining velvet with rich silver or gold Embroidery and fringe. Stewart has lately made two for the King of Tanjore's sons, which, it is said, will cost near 10,000 Rs. each. They are Mahanas (6) with venetians, etc., etc. Bedding and Pillows of velvet as the Lining.

These Tanjore palanquins appear to have attracted much attention for they are the subject of an announcement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 20, 1795: "Two very elegant Mehannah Palanquins are just finished by Mr. Stewart who has shown great skill in the design and execution of them; they are commissioned by the Rajah of Tanjore." They were evidently a Bengal speciality: for we read in the *Bombay Courier* of November 2, 1793, of "an elegant new Bengal Meana with hair bedding and furniture", which is for sale, and again on May 18, 1795, of "an Elegant Fashionable new Meanna from Calcutta".

Solvyns sailed from Calcutta in the *Phoenix* in June 1803. Although the picture cannot be traced, there is reason to believe that he painted a "view of a House Manufactory and Bazar in Calcutta", which are none other than the premises at 8 Old Court House Corner, behind St. Andrew's Church,

(4) The letter is printed in *extenso* in *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 128-132.

(5) In 1791 in a foreign ship, *L' Etrusco*.

(6) *Mahanah*, *Meeana*, *Myana*—a long palanquin in which the occupant lay at full length with a support for the head and shoulders. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 5, 1784, among a number of articles advertised for sale at Williams and Lee's Auction Room, "the effects of a gentleman deceased", mention is made of "an entire new Myannah, painted and gilt, lined with orange silk, with curtains and bedding compleat."



*BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.*  
*VOL. XLVI.*



PORTRAIT ON MAHOGANY PANEL  
IN OFFICE OF STEUART AND Co., CALCUTTA.



occupied until the year 1907 by Stuart and Co. A coloured print is in existence which bears this title, and is stated to have been engraved by F. Jukes "from the original picture in possession of James Steuart Esq." But I have not seen a copy for many years ; the only one which has come under my notice belonged to the late Sir Charles Kesteven, and was sold in Calcutta after his death.

The early records of Messrs. Steuart and Co. were discovered in 1885 to have been destroyed by white ants. But it can be ascertained from Calcutta Almanacks and Directories that in 1817 William Steuart was still senior partner. In the following year his name disappears and that of W. Shanks, who came out in 1807, is given as sole partner. In 1820 the partners are Robert Hastie and James Hastie, with John Hastie as assistant. From 1824 to 1830 the three Hasties are all partners : and in the last named year John Hastie represented the firm at a public meeting which resulted in the formation of the Calcutta Trades Association. In 1833 Robert Hastie had left India, leaving his brothers John and James in control. In 1841 Henry Burkinyoung (who served as Master of the Trades Association in that year and again in 1844) appears as a partner, and in 1843 C. J. Burkinyoung who was also connected with the firm of that name. W. Roberts (Master of the Trades Association in 1852, 1853, 1854, 1856 and 1857) and J. M. Grant next join the firm. In 1857 the partners are H. Burkinyoung, W. Roberts and J. M. Grant. The two former retired from the firm in 1860 and J. M. Grant and T. C. Carter control the business until 1868. In that year the partners are Robert Allordice and P. M. Kilgour ; and their association continues until 1880. The former who was Master of the Trades Association in 1874 and 1875, retired to Europe in 1877. but retained his interest in the firm. From 1881 to 1885 the partners were P. M. Kilgour and W. Hay. In 1885 the firm went into liquidation : but Mr. A. W. Westrop, who was then an assistant, approached Mr. Walter Bushby who was at the time connected with Dykes and Co., and arrangements were made by them with the Old Delhi and London Bank for the continuance of the business which quickly prospered under their management. In 1893 Mr. Westrop retired owing to his ill health and Mr. Bushby carried on as sole proprietor until 1902, when Mr. R. S. Josland was taken into partnership. Mr. H. A. Martin was admitted as partner in 1904 and Mr. F. E. Bushby, a nephew of Mr. Walter Bushby, in 1907. In 1911 Mr. Josland retired and Mr. F. E. Bushby (Master of the Trades Association in 1919) was joined by Mr. G. S. Page and Mr. W. Shenton. In 1920 the firm was converted into a limited liability company.

A portrait on a mahogany panel is preserved by the firm of Steuart and Co., which is believed to represent James Steuart. In the opinion, however, of Major C. B. Steuart, the subject is William Steuart. The family have a portrait of James Steuart, which was painted by Sir Henry Raeburn many years after his return to Europe. If the Calcutta picture is a portrait of William Steuart, the authorship may reasonably be ascribed to Solvyns. The illustration which accompanies this article is reproduced from a photograph which was specially taken by Mr. Hugh Hannay, the present managing director of the firm. Solvyns, as we have seen, was in Calcutta from 1791

to 1803: and William Steuart who was born in 1775, would have been twenty seven years old in 1802 which would correspond with the age of the young man in the picture.

The photograph of the premises in Old Court House corner, which we also reproduce, was taken by Mr. F. E. Bushby, senior partner from 1911 to 1919. It is not possible to state exactly the year in which the premises were acquired, as the earliest documents have unhappily perished: but there can be little doubt that it was the original home of the firm and its proprietors. The ownership of the house with the workshops in the rear was retained by the Steuart family. In leases of 1863, 1877 and 1887, the boundaries of the property are given as follows:

All that dwelling house and premises containing by a measurement Two Beegahs Seventeen Cottahs and Thirteen Chittacks or thereabouts situate lying and being in Old Court House Corner and Rada Bazar and bounded on the south by Old Court House Corner, on the west by St. Andrew's Churchyard and the house in the occupation of Shand Fairlie and Co. (7) and on the east by native shops and Rada Bazar.

The lease of 1863 was for fifteen years from May 1, 1862, at a monthly rent of Rs. 850; the lease of 1877 was for ten years from May 1, 1877, at the same rent; the lease of 1887 was for ten years from May 1, 1887, at a monthly rent of Rs. 900. The last of the leases is dated April 24, 1897: the parties are Miss Harriet Margart Steuart and Lady Louisa Clementina Pringle, wife of Sir Norman Pringle Bart, lessors and Mr. Walter Bushby Lessee. The Ladies are the daughters of Captain Robert Steuart, M. P. the grandson of James Steuart. On the expiration of the lease which was for ten years from May 1, 1897, at a monthly rent of Rs. 1200, Steuart and Co., removed to 3 Mangoe Lane, and carried on business there until 1930, when the present premises at the corner of Park Street and Free School Street were acquired.

The sale and repair of motor-cars and the manufacture of motor bodies constitute the main business of the firm at the present day. But there has not been a single vehicle in use in Calcutta during the last 150 years which has not had its type in their workshops: from the most elaborate state coaches, decorated with gold silver and precious stones, to office jauns and tum-tums. In 1874 a state howdah was made for the use of King Edward; a state carriage for the present King Emperor in 1906: and another in 1911. On the occasion of the Coronation Durbar held by Lord Curzon in 1902 Steuart and Co. supplied a solid silver howdah for the Maharaja of Balrampur, and twenty two landaus and eighteen victorias for the personal guests of the Viceroy. In 1878 a carriage was built for the late Maharaja of Jind, which contained more than 25,000 tolas of solid silver; and in 1882 and subsequent years carriages of a similar character were commissioned by the Nawab of

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(7) In the lease of 1877: "No. 1 Lyons Range, now in the occupation of Macneill and Co." In the lease of 1887: "The premises No. 1 Lyons Range lately in the occupation of Hoare Miller and Co." The premises are now in the occupation of Messrs. Mackenzie Lyall and Co.

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Bahawalpur, the Commander-in-chief of Nepal, and the Amir of Afghanistan. Railway carriages have even been constructed at Ramkistopore.

The change in the character of the locality in which the firm now carries on business is as striking as the change in the character of the business itself. Forty years ago Park Street was a purely residential thoroughfare. It is now the home of many leading firms who have migrated from the old shopping quarter in the neighbourhood of Tank Square. The spacious houses with their deep verandahs, massive gateways and front compounds, have disappeared one by one. Calcutta is still a City of Palaces, but the palaces are those of commerce.

EVAN COTTON.

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## More Monumental Inscriptions.

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### VI.

(Nos. 1116—1405)

#### PURNEA.

The district of Purnea, in Bihar contained many of the old indigo factories. These M. I. have been kindly copied by Mr. H. C. Betteley.

*KISHANGANJ cemetery, in Line basta near Ramjan bridge.*

1116. Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH BECH widow of the late J. J. WODSCHOW, born 24-11-1820, died 22-4-1885.

*TITALYA cemetery, to W. of Ganges-Darjeeling road.*

1117. This covers the remains of MARGARET ROBERTSON daughter of John Robertson, died 4th June 1817 aged 5 years 6 months.

*BAHORA indigo factory, near Karagola Ghat on Ganges.*

1118. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM FRANCIS WALLACE MEYERS Esqre, Dy. Magistrate and Collector and late 38th Madras N. I. who departed this life on the 6th July 1862, aged 37 years and 8 days, leaving a disconsolate widow and 6 children to deplore his irreparable loss.

*KORAH indigo factory, just off Ganges-Darjeeling road.*

1119. Sacred to the memory of ULICK McDONALD the beloved eldest son of Archibald and Ellen McDonald who died on the 3rd December 1903 at Korah factory at the age of 33 years 1 month and 17 days.

*SULTANPUR indigo factory, FORBESGANJ.*

1120. To the memory of ISAAC ROWE Esquire, who departed this life on 5th October 1820, aged 27 years.  
1121. Sacred to the memory of the infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. N. CARRAS, born 20-1-16, died 23-1-16.

*HAYES estate, ½ mile W. of Purnea Court railway station.*

1122. In memory of Mrs. CHARLOTTE ALEXANDER and her infant son died 28th January 1851.  
1123. Sacred to the memory of the two infant daughters of WILLIAM and MARIANNE DOWNING, also of MARIANNE the beloved wife of Wm. P. DOWNING Esquire, Solicitor & Notary Public, and only

daughter of Charles Palmer Esquire of Purneah, Zemindar, who entered her Saviour's kingdom on the 31st January 1853. ("Marianne" is also on floor-slab).

1124. In memory of J. P. ALEXANDER who departed this life on the 9th January 1864, aetat. 34.
1125. Sacred to the memory of HILDA MARGARET MARIE the beloved child of Mr. and Mrs. G. S. HAYES who departed this life on the 21st September 1872, aged 11 months and 16 days.
1126. Sacred to the memory of CHARLES PALMER Indigo Planter and Zemindar in the Purneah District who came to Purneah in 1811 and died on the 22nd March 1873 aged 83 years. This tablet is erected by his grand-daughter Marion Ruth Hayes.
1127. In memory of the infant daughter of WILLIAM and MARIANNE DOWNING.
1128. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. REAZOONISSA RUTH the wife of Mr. CHARLES PALMER who departed this life on the 1st August 1870 aetat. 77 years, beloved and respected by all.

*Old Roman Catholic cemetery, Purnea, N. E. of old Anglican cemetery, and about 2 miles from present civil station.*

1129. G. (? C.) A. THOMAS. Died 11th Novr. 1808, aged 29 years.
1130. Sacred to the memory of ELIZTH. BROWN who departed this life 23rd January 1818, aged 62 years.
1131. Sacred to the memory of ANTHONY NONEY died 19th March 1819, aged 54 years.
1132. Sacred to the memory of ANGELINE THOMAS 1st wife of W. BOTHELLO died 18th Septr. 1821, aged 14 (?) years 1 month and 7 days.
1133. Sacred to the memory of AUGUSTIN D'ROZEIRA, Junior, died on Easter Sunday the 3rd April 1831, aged 15 years.
1134. Sacred to the memory of EMELIA wife of W. NONEY, died 21st August 1831 aged 30 years.
1135. Here lies the body of JOHN RICHD. HANSCAP son of Mr. and Mrs. Garrett Hanscap who departed this life in Peeprah on the 14th August in the year of our Lord 1841, aged 2 years and 5 months.
1136. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM BOTELHO died 10th December 1841, aged 47 years 2 months and 11 days.
1137. Sacred to the memory of JOSEPH ERNEST who departed this life on the 4th April 1843 aged 80 years.
1138. Sacred to the memory of WILLIAM THOMAS who departed this life on the 24th May 1842, aged 35 years.
1139. Sacred to the memory of MARY ERNEST who departed this life on the 10th November 1845, aged 50 years.
1140. Sacred to the memory of ROSE wife of WM. NONEY died 6th January 1849 aged 19 years.
1141. Sacred to the memory of ANTHONY R. D'SOUZA Esq., of the Subordinate Judicial Service, born at Buxar 16th Sept. 1795, died at

Purneah 24th August 1847, aged 51 years 11 months and 8 days, leaving a widow and five children.

1142. Sacred to the memory of CAROLINE the beloved wife of Mr. WILLIAM NONEY who departed this life on the 5th July 1850, aged 40 years 8 months and 5 days.
1143. Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH MORLEY who departed this life on the 12th day of Febry. 1860 aged about 70 years.
1144. Sacred to the memory of Monsr. RENE DE LAVAL who departed this life at Purneah 23rd May 1860 ae. 68.
1145. Here lie the remains of C. R. NONEY the beloved child of T. & O. NONEY who departed this life the 26th November 1860 aged 1 year 11 months.
1146. To the memory of Mrs. L. F. NEVILLE relict of the late Baptist Neville, died 29th July 1866.
1147. Sacred to the memory of MARIA ISABELLA the beloved wife of W. H. VERSAILLES who departed this life on the 25th November 1870, aged 32 years 3 months and 29 days.
1148. Sacred to the memory of ADELINE ROSE wife of Mr. JAS. WM. BOTELLHO died 11th November 1871, aged 26 years 5 months 28 days.
1149. Sacred to the memory of Mr. H. ERNEST the beloved husband of C. DELPHIN who departed this life on the 5th January 1873, aged 57 years 4 months and 26 days.
1150. Sacred to the memory of CHARLOTTE DELPHINE widow of the late HENRY ERNEST of Purneah died on 3rd February 1876 at 4 p.m. aged 49 years and 3 months.

*D'Rozario graves, on Ganges-Darjeeling road close to Jail.*

1151. Here reposes the body of CHRISTIANA daughter of Francis RODRIGUES and the wife of L. D'ROZARIO died at Purneah the 13th Septr. 1859 aged 31 years 7 months & 6 days.
1152. Here rests the body of EDWIN PETER the only and beloved son of Lewis and Christiana D'ROZARIO. Born 1st Jany. 1846, died 17th Novr. 1861, aged 15 years 10 months and 17 days. His melancholy loss was occasioned by a fall with his horse into a pool which laid on the side of the road while riding on the above fatal evening. (A granite pedestal supporting a cross, with a snake coiled round the latter. Tradition has it that a snake was found coiled round his body when taken out of the water).
1153. Sacred to the memory of LEWIS D'ROZARIO Esqre. Assistant Indigo Planter of this District, born 21st January 1814, died 6th December 1882. Deeply lamented by his daughter C. H. JUDAH. . . .

*D'Assis & Shillingford tombs, just S. of old Roman Catholic cemetery.*

1154. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. PELEGRINE JOSEPH who departed this life on the 8th April A.D. 1834, aged 85 years.
1155. To the memory of LOUIS COUSTARD D'ASSIS of Neelgunge Factory who departed this life on the 11th September 1833, aged 63 years.

1156. . . . MARY ANNE D'ASSIS relict of the late L. C. D'Assis of Neelgunge who departed this life on the 4th March 1838, aged 75 years.
1157. . . . HARRIETT ALICE SHILLINGFORD who departed this life on the 16th of August 1848 aged 16 years 7 months and 21 days.
1158. . . . JULIA ELIZABETH second daughter of Charles Alexander SHILLINGFORD and Elizabeth Mary his wife, who departed this life on the 16th April 1851, aged 1 year 5 months and 23 days.
1159. . . . Mrs. MARY SHILLINGFORD widow of the late George Shillingford Esq., who departed this life at Kolassy Factory on the 7th of August 1858 aged 66 years 7 months and 6 days. (Said to have originally been buried at Kolassy Factory).
1160. . . . JOHN JOSEPH SHILLINGFORD of Kolassy Factory Purneah who died 22nd July 1867 aged 47 years 7 months 12 days. (Reverse of stone states that he left a widow and 13 children).
1161. . . . CAROLINE relict of John Joseph SHILLINGFORD who died on the 3rd September 1873 aged 48 years 2 months 2 days.
1162. ELIZABETH SOPHIA the beloved wife of R. S. PYNE died at Neelgunge July 22nd 1869 aged 22 years 10 months.
1163. . . . MARIAN NAUZAIS the beloved wife of T. Nauzais, born 10th August 1851, died 2nd February 1873, aged 21 years, 5 months and 23 days.  
*Old Anglican cemetery, Purnea, known as "Line Bazar burial ground".*
1164. Sacred to the memory of P. I. FLOR, M.D., who died at Purneah the 28th August 1778, aged 40 years. (Crawford's *Roll of the Indian Medical Service*, no. B. 126. Peter John Flor).
1165. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant ALEXANDER McVEAGH, who died 6th May 1786, aged 99.
1166. Sacred to the memory of JOHN W. BROWN, who died the . . . September 1787, aged 96 years.
1167. To the memory of WILLIAM SCOTT Esq., who died on the 13th of August 1793, aged 40 years.
1168. Here lie interred the remains of (JA)MES STEEL, Surgeon in the service of the Honourable East India Company, who departed this life on the . . . June 1791. (Crawford's "Roll of the I.M.S.", no. B. 219, James Steele).
1169. In memory of JOHN HANNAY Esq., late Judge and Magistrate of the Zillah of Purneah, who died 19th September 1795, aged 50 years.
1170. In memory of ROBERT JARRETT, who departed this life the 27th February 1805, aged 60 years.
1171. Sacred to the memory of CHARLES GROEME, junior, Esqr., Judge and Magistrate of Purnea, who departed this life on the 24th April A.D. 1807, aged 31 years, 7 months.
1172. Dedicated to the memory of Captain and Mrs. ISAAC ROWE, who departed this life in the year 1808.

1173. Sacred to the memory of THOS. C. SCOTT Esq., late Registrar (*sic*) Acting Judge and Magistrate of this District, who died 7th day of March 1811, aged 29 years.
1174. Sacred to the memory of Mr. GEORGE MARQUIS who died at Gondwarah on the 27th of July 1811, aged 23 years.
1175. Sacred to the memory of Captain WILLIAM MacPHERSON of the 24th Regt., Native Infantry, who departed this life on the 14th of September 1819, aged 35 years.
1176. To the memory of J. A. DAVIDSON Esqr., Assistant Surgeon, died at this station in the year of our Lord 1819. (Crawford's "Roll of the I.M.S.", no. B. 714 ; John Maxwell Davidson, d. Purnea, 17 Aug. 1819).
1177. Sacred to the memory of Captain BENJAMIN BLAKE, late Commander in the Country Marine Service, in which he was employed for upwards of 40 years, who departed this life at Purneah on the 24th of August 1820, aged 65 years.
1178. Sacred to the memory of MARIA, wife of Captain William BERTRAM, Barrack Master, 16th Division Barrack Department, who departed this life at Purneah on the 19th of February 1823, aged 36 years. (See Major V. C. P. Hodson's "List of Officers of the Bengal Army", vol. I, p. 135).
1179. Sacred to the memory of HANNAH ELIZABETH, the beloved wife of Captain Jeremiah AUBERT, who departed this life in childbed on the 26th March 1825, after only a few hours suffering, aged 35 years. (See *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 60).
1180. Sacred to the memory of J. V. BISCOE Esqr., died at Purneah, on the 26th July 1827, in the 33rd year of his age.
1181. Sacred to the memory of JAMES COLNETT GREAVES, who died on the 3rd April 1828, aged 1 year.
1182. In memory of Frederick William, who died at Purneah on the 18th day of August 1828, aged 11 months and 25 days, the only son of Frederick and Annie CORFIELD.
1183. Sacred to the memory of ELIZABETH PETRIE, relict of John Angus MACLEAN, who departed this life 27th May 1829, aged 52 years. This monument was erected by her affectionate daughter Catherine Kerby.
1184. Sacred to the memory of George John Charles, the only beloved child of George and Anne PALMER. Born in Poorneah on the 11th August 1829 and went to God on the 14th October 1834, aged 5 years, 2 months and 3 days.
1185. Sacred to the memory of E. W. JOHNSON, Indigo Planter, died 27th November 1837, aged 27 years.
1186. Sacred to the memory of EVELINA CRUISE who died on the 18th of October in the year of our Lord 1838, aged 1 month and 10 days.
1187. Sacred to the memory of Lieut. M. F. XIMENES of H. M. 16th Regt., who died on the 21st January 1839 in the 22nd year of his age, universally beloved and lamented.
1188. Sacred to the memory of GEORGE PALMER Esqr., who departed this life on the 10 September, A.D. 1840, aetat, 44 years.



1189. . . . Mrs. ELEANOR CAUTY who departed this life after many years of severe suffering on the 12th September 1840, aged 46 years.
1190. Here repose the remains of JOHN PATRICK CAUTY, who departed this life on the 22nd July 1842, deeply and sincerely regretted, aged 33 years. This tomb is erected by Mrs. G. Palmer as the last token of a sister's affection.
1191. To the memory of JAMES DEVAIN, who died 12th October A.D. 1842, aged 20 years, 8 months, 6 days.
1192. Affection's last tribute to the memory of Mr. WILLIAM WATERS SINCLAIR, who departed this life on the 26th July 1843, aged 34 years and 21 days.
1193. In memory of JAMES KING KILLWICK, who departed this life 1st December 1843, aged 23 years.
1194. . . . JAMES BARNES Esqre., who departed this life on the 19th October 1844.
1195. . . . ADA, the beloved daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James DRIBERG, born on the 2nd December 1843, died on the 11th November 1844.
1196. . . . Captain JOHN WHITE, who departed this life on the 20th December 1844, aged 73 years and 6 months.
1197. . . . WILLIAM HENRY LAY, who lived 30 years in this District and was esteemed and respected by every one. He died on the 7th September in the year of our Lord 1845, aged 46 years, 8 months.
1198. Sacred to the memory of the Hon'ble F. DRUMMOND, Magistrate of Purneah, who died 15th May 1848, aged 26 years. This Monument is raised by the Residents of the District in token of their sense of his worth as a man and also as a Magistrate.
1199. . . . JOHN BRANDT Esqre., born 30th November A.D. (?) . . died 30th June 1849 A.D. Deeply lamented by his family and sincerely regretted by his friends. . .
1200. . . . FREDERICK WILLIAM BATCHELOR, V. Surgeon, who departed this life at Purneah 23rd January A.D. 1853, aged 40 years, 10 months and 4 days. This tablet is inscribed by his afflicted widow Clare Louisa.
1201. . . . SOPHIE, the much beloved wife of Frederick Arthur KILLWICK of Nauthpore, who departed this life on the 29th August 1857.
1202. In memory of ALEXANDER TURNBULL, Lieutenant of H. M. VIIth Bengal European Regiment and Commandant of the IIIrd Police Battalion. Died March 14th 1859, aged 34 years.
1203. . . . WILLIAM HAROCHE BEVERLY Esqr., Indigo Planter, who died at Purneah on the 28th May 1859, aged 52 years.
1204. In memory of THOS. MELISS Esqre., who died on the 27th Sept. 1861, aged 35 years.
1205. . . . JOHN CHARLES JOHNSON, Esq. Born 7th February 1818 (?) 1848) A.D. Died 15th December 1861 A.D.
1206. . . . MARY ANNE BRANDT, relict of the late John Brandt, Indigo Planter, Purnea. Died 20th July 1875, aged 73 years, 4 months and 11 days.

1207. . . . Mrs. GRACE BARNES, who died 9th May 1881, aged 81 years.  
*New Anglican cemetery, Purnea, near District Judge's Court.*
1208. . . . EDITH CAROLINE, daughter of Edward Stanhope and Caroline PEARSON, born November 19th 1850, died February 9th 1851.
1209. In memory of CHARLES HENRY CAVE, born 3rd March 1863, died 6th March 1863.
1210. . . . ROBERT CHARLES ATKINSON, Supervisor Ganges & Darjeeling Road, who departed this life at Caragola on the 3rd May 1863, aged 35 years, 11 months and 3 days . . . erected by his afflicted widow.
1211. . . . E. D. FORBES Esqre., born 14th July 1815, died 22nd July 1863.
1212. . . . ISABELLA ROLLO, who died on the 29th March 1864, aged 40 years, 4 months and 17 days.
1213. EDWARD MARLEY WALKER Esq., obiit 10th September 1865, aetat. 23 years, 1 month and 20 days.
1214. . . . GERALD CONWAY, the beloved son of Mr. and Mrs. H. M. WEATHRALL, who died on the 31st October 1865, aged 4 years, 3 months and 27 days.
1215. . . . LENA, wife of A. B. FALCON, Bengal Civil Service . . . Born June 12, 1838. Married January 1863. Died December 17, 1866, leaving three sons.
1216. WILLIAM WALKER Esq., obiit 2nd April 1867 aetat. 38 years.
1217. . . . PHILIP JOHN BERNEY, son of A. B. FALCON, Bengal Civil Service, born November 22, 1866, died April 10, 1867.
1218. Erected by James Henry Gouldhawke, Indigo Planter, Purneah, in regretful memory of his wife CATHERINE EVILENA GOULDHAWKE, daughter of T. E. Lennon Esq., adopted daughter of Mrs. C. L. Batchelor. Born 28th June 1839, married 15th September 1859, died 6th January 1868, leaving three children to lament her loss.
1219. . . . HENRY SAUNDERS CAVE, son of Col. J. H. Cave, late of E. I. S., who departed this life 6th February 1868, 57 years.
1220. In memory of CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH CAVE, born 1st January 1868, died 29th April 1868.
1221. . . . B. R. PERRY Esqre. for 58 years resident of the District and highly respected by all who knew him. He died May 13th 1868, aged 75 years.
1222. . . . Mrs. ARABELLA ARMELLA DE SOUZA, widow of A. R. De Souza Esquire. Born at Arrah 7th May 1821, died at Purneah 7th May 1870. . . .
1223. . . . Mrs. ELIZABETH LEWIS, born 10th November 1844, died 16th November 1870.
1224. To the memory of RICHARD DE COURCY of Lollpore Factory Indigo Planter and Sub Manager of the Dhurumpore Estate in Purneah, born 31st May 1823, died 7th May 1871.
1225. . . . RICHARD DANIEL JOHNSON, Indigo Planter, born 1st Sept. 1815, died 15th May 1871.

1226. . . . erected by Alfred & Louisa BULL . . . to the memory of their . . . daughter NELLIE, who died on the 14th March 1872 at the Tylalia Dak Bungalow, aged 5 years and 6 months on her way to Darjeeling with her father.
1227. . . . CLARA HANNAH CAVE, born 20th April 1865, died 14th January 1873.
1228. N. DEVAIN Esq., died 5th May 1873, aged 8 years.
1229. . . . PHARINE ROSE ALEXANDRA JENINGS, eldest and dearly beloved daughter of Mr. and Mrs. G. A. WALKER, died at Kharospore Factory Bhagalpur 9th May 1873, aged 9 years, 7 months and 21 days.
1230. . . . Richard CRUISE, who died 31st of July 1873, aged 58 years and 6 months. He lived in this District for 30 years.
1231. In memoriam Bibi Susannah Khanam obiit XXII Novembris MDCCCLXXIII aetat. XLVI annos.
1232. In memory of R. B. BUCKLAND Esqre., born 1824, died 1873, aged 49.
1233. . . . AMELIA ELIZABETH BAKER, adopted daughter of Mrs. C. L. Batchelor of Purneah, who departed this life November 5th 1874, aged 37 years.
1234. . . . GEORGE WALKER, one of the oldest residents of this District, dearly loved and lamented by his bereaved wife and children and respected by his friends, who died on the 17th September 1875 in the 69th year of his age.
1235. . . . JANE VICTORIA, youngest daughter of George PRATT Esqre., who died at Purneah on the 26th February 1876.
1236. In memory of GEORGE ALEXANDER WALKER, who departed this life on the 17th day of March 1878, aged 47 years.
1237. . . . JOHN LEWIS DE LA NOUGEREDE, born at Calcutta 24th January 1817, died 13th September 1878, aged 61 years, 7 months and 20 days.
1238. . . . EDMUND JOHNSON, died 28th March 1879, aged 43 years and 5 months.
1239. . . . Mrs. G. WALKER, who died at Rampore Bauliah, Rajshahye, on the 3rd January 1880 in the 66th years of her age and her body has been placed by the side of her beloved husband by their loving children.
1240. . . . FREDERICK SIMS FORBES, youngest son of Alexander John Forbes Esquire, Zemindar and Indigo Planter of Purneah, born 31st March 1853, died 22nd January 1880. . .
1241. . . . Mr. F. L. BURFORD, Neelgunge, who died September 23rd 1882, aged 45 years.
1242. . . . ANN DIANA, beloved wife of Alexander John FORBES, Zemindar and Indigo Planter, Purneah, who departed this life 5th July 1883, aged 69 years, 11 months and 9 days. . .
1243. . . . HENRY CAVE, who died on the 30th April 1886, aged 53 years and 11 months. For many years Managing Proprietor of the Gondwarrah Indigo Concern, Purneah . . . erected by his affectionate children.

1244. . . . LETITIA relict of the late E. A. BABONAU, indigo planter, died 13th March 1887, aged 59 years and 10 months. . .
1245. . . . BRIDGETINA relict of the late Henry William BABONAU, indigo planter, late of Bhogong Factory, Purneah, born 11th December 1812, died on the 17th April 1887. . .
1246. . . . MARY, the dearly loved child of Bernard and Alice BAXTER, who departed this life on the 31st of May 1887, aged 5 years.
1247. . . . JOSEPH LAY SHILLINGFORD, fifth son of the late J. J. Shillingford of Kolassy, who died at Purneah on the 6th March 1890. . .
1249. . . . RICHARD CHARLES WALKER, Indigo Planter of Purneah, born on the 25th February 1832, died at Purneah on the 5th May 1890...
1250. . . . ALEXANDER JOHN FORBES, Zemindar and Indigo Planter, Purneah, who died at Calcutta on the 9th July 1890 and was buried here on the 16th July 1890, aged 83 years, 9 months and 23 days.
1251. . . . LETITIA MARIA LEWIS wife of W. O. Lewis, born 12th September 1852, died 12th November 1891.
1252. . . . HENRY M. CRUISE, born 16th May 1842, died 10th July 1882.
1253. Lt. ARTHUR BELL, R. E., tenderly loved son of Henry and Annie Bell, born 27th July 1869, died 23rd August 1892, drowned at Barsoi while taking soundings in the Mahanuddee.
1254. KATHLEEN MARY SUNDER . . . 6th March 1894.
1255. In memory of THOMAS CALVERLEY COTTON second son of W. Gordon Cotton who died at Forbesgunge on 17th August 1894, aged 20 years and 11 months.
1256. In memory of MARY ANN MELISS widow of Thos. Meliss Esq. Indigo-Planter Purneah died 26th Novr. 1894 aged 63.
1257. . . . EVELYN CLARA LEWIS born 13th October 1875, died 5th May 1895 aged 19 years 6 months.
1258. CECIL VOLOIS CLEMONS second son of C. C. & L. C. CASSIDY born 4th February 1895 died 14th June 1895.
1259. . . . SOPHIA DE ROZARIO relict of the late Revd. F. J. de Rozario C.M.S., died 27th July 1896 aged 80 years.
1260. In memory of THOMAS SINNOCK HILL born 30th October 1849, died 22nd November 1898, this stone was erected by the Proprietors and Assistants of the Gondwara Concern . . .
1261. . . . WILLIAM O. LEWIS who died on the 22nd March 1900, erected by his loving daughters.
1262. . . . HELGA HALVORDINE infant daughter of Wilhelm and Lizzie BOECK-BERGER. Died 31st March 1900, aged 4 months 9 days.
1263. . . . EMMA BRUCE wife of G. D. Bruce, born 7th April 1861, died 1st April 1901.
1264. In loving memory of MARION SOPHIA ROBINSON the beloved wife of the Rev. Denham Robinson, Baptist Missionary, born the 21st October 1852, entered into rest the 23rd May 1903.
1265. . . . RICHARD THEODORE JOHNSON who died at Purneah on the 4th July 1903, aged 66 years.

1266. . . . RICHARD JOHNSON, indigo-planter, died February 1904, aged 62 years.
1267. . . . ARCHIBALD MORENO, who died on the 20th July 1907.
1268. . . . STEPHEN STUART SKINNER, I.C.S., who died at Purneah on the 26th September 1911, aged 39 years.
1289. . . . ARCHIBALD McDONALD eldest son of Colin Rose McDonald, sub-judge of Bhagalpur, who died on the 21st January 1912, aged 67 years 7 months and 21 days. He was an affectionate . . . husband and father.
1290. . . . MARY ANNE JOHNSON relict of the late R. D. JOHNSON indigo-planter on the 7th November 1912, born 17th October 1825, aged 87 years 21 days.
1291. . . . PHARINE JANE FORBES second daughter of Alexander John Forbes of Sultanpore Factory, Purneah, Zemindar and Indigo Planter, born 117th July 1838 and died at Arthur Hall in the Civil station of Purneah on 10th February 1916. This monument is erected by her loved brother, Arthur Henry Forbes, Barrister-at-law.
1292. . . . HENRY AURIOL WALKER born on 8th November 1839, died on 30th November 1916.
1293. W. BRANDT, aged 59 years (no date).
1294. RICHARD CHARLES only child of Richard Edmund and Mary JOHNSON, aged 24 years. (No date).
1295. Here lies the remains of Mr. HENRY ACLAND aged 57 years. This monument is erected to his memory by the Managers of the Orphan Society, in testimony to the zeal and integrity with which he served that Institution upward of eight years in the capacity of Secretary. (No date).
1296. . . . JOHN HENRY LEWIS, born 10th April 1858, died 25th August 1928.
1297. In loving memory of THOMAS BUCKLAND LEWIS born 3rd December 1830 died 9th September 1895, and his wife MARY LEWIS who died 25th March 1891.
1298. . . . RODERICK JEFFERSON CAVE eldest son of the late Henry Cave of GONDWARRAH Indigo Concern, Purneah, born 22nd May 1860, died 28th April 1925, aged 65 years.
1299. . . . HENRY ROBERT CAVE 3rd son of the late Henry Cave of the Gondwarrah Indigo Concern, and dearly beloved husband of Sadie Mary Cave (nee Duff), born 16th March 1864 and died at Simrah House, North Bhagalpur, 24th October 1919.
1300. . . . EMILY MARY CAVE beloved daughter of Henry Cave, Managing Proprietor of the Gondwarrah Indigo Concern Purneah, born 22nd November 1858, died 25th December 1921.
1301. In loving memory of our dear aunt VICTORIA ANNE DaCOSTA died 26th February 1906 aged 64 years, also of our dear brother and uncle JOHN ALEXANDER HOSMER, died 22nd February 1918 aged 58 years.

1302. . . . KEITH JAMES ALEXANDER the infant son of William and Agatha ROSMER, 3 years and 8 months (No date).

NEW ROMAN CATHOLIC CEMETERY, PURNEA.

1303. . . . CHARLES ALEXANDER SHILLINGFORD of Munshye Factory born 10th September 1825 died 8th April 1886, for 43 years an Indigo Planter in this District.
1304. . . . GEORGE CHARLES STEWART CHAPMAN son of the late Col. Geo. Chapman, E. I. C. N. I., born 31st July 1823 and died 4th November 1886 at Sooltanpore Factory, Purneah.
1305. Sister M. J. Veronica of the Loretto Convent, Darjeeling died October 10th 1887. (A Miss Donelly, aged 36).
1306. . . . Mr. DAVID PICACHY Sr. died on the 9th of August 1888 aged 85 years and 8 months.
1307. FRANCIS SALESBY died 7th April 1889 aged 18 years.
1308. . . . PATRICK FELIX CAUTY, Indigo Planter, son of the late Robert Richard Cauty, who died in Purneah on the 10th May 1891 aged 45 years and 8 months. This monument is erected by his widow Mary Isabella Cauty and his son Richard Patrick Cauty.
1309. . . . STELLA MARIE the infant daughter of Vivian and Mary WEATHERALL, born 28th August 1891, died 29th August 1891.
1310. Louise Marie died 13-2-1892. M. F. McGuire.
1311. . . . VIVIAN LARKIN the son of Alfred and Annie LEE born 3rd April 1895, died 9th December 1895, aged 8 months 6 days.
1312. . . . ELIZABETH WINIFRED infant daughter of Mr. Alf. DONALDSON died 17th December 1895, aged 1 year 7 months 22 days.
1313. . . . JOHN ELIAS of the District of Purneah who died on the 26th of August 1896 A.D., aged 48 years 6 months & 2 days . . . erected by his sorrowing widow.
1314. R. De COURCY died Purneah 6th September 1896.
1315. P. BURKE of Purneah, born 17-3-1871, died 26-12-1900.
1316. . . . STEPHEN BAGRAM JOHANNES, died at Katihar August 2nd 1901 aged 48 years 1 month and 19 days.
1317. . . . Mrs. ELLEN GISCILLA CROW, died 22nd September 1902, aged 78 years. Erected by her sorrowing children.
1318. . . . Infant son of Vivian and Maude WEATHERALL born and died on the 1st November 1905.
1319. . . . MAUDE VIOLET CAROLINE WEATHERALL born on the 20th October 1885, died on the 7th December 1905, aged 20 years 1 month and 12 days . . .
1320. . . . CHARLES EDWIN REBELLO born 25th September 1822 died 10th January 1906.
1321. . . . EMELINE CONSTANCE wife of Charles Edwin REBELLO born 5th January 1833 died 14th January 1906.
1322. . . . MURIAL VIVIENNE MAY WEATHERALL beloved only child of Vivian Ernest Weatherall born on the 17th October 1893, died on

the 31st July 1908, aged 12 years 9 months 14 days. Her mother lies buried in the Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta, where she died on 25th Nov. 1893. . . .

1325. . . . HARRIET DIANA CHAPMAN widow of George Charles Stewart Chapman of Purneah born 14th June 1832, died 24th November 1910.
1324. . . . Dr. DAVID PICACHY born 19th November 1928, died 16th January 1911.
1325. . . . MARION RUTH HAYES, wife of George Sullivan Hayes, daughter of the late Mw. Pringle Downing, Solicitor, Calcutta, and grand-daughter of the late Charles Palmer, Zemindar & Indigo-Planter, Purnea. Born on Saturday 4th August 1849, died on Tuesday 27th June 1911.
1326. . . . JAMES RAYMOND . . . son of Charles J. and Amy SHILLINGFORD . . . 21st July 1914 aged 5 years and 20 days.
1327. . . . CAROLINE STEPHENS born in 1850 died at Purnea on the 15th August 1914.
1328. . . . ELIZABETH MARY SHILLINGFORD relict of C. A. Shillingford of Purneah. Born 3rd October 1829, died 21st August 1917, aged 87 years 10 months 18 days.
1329. . . . DAVID PICACHY (Jnr.) born 26th December 1867, died 27th October 1929.
1330. . . . CECILIA EVELINA, wife of A. G. M. WODSCHOW and daughter of the late Dr. David and Cecilia Henrietta Picachy ; born 7th August 1872, died 11th May 1921.
1331. . . . IDA ALICE THOMSON, born 22nd June 1871, died 8th December 1927.
1332. . . . LOUISA MARGARET 4th daughter of Charles Alexander and Elizabeth Mary Shillingford of Manshai, Purnea. Born 9th April 1854, died 9th December 1929, aged 75 years 8 mos.

#### FATEHGARH.

The following previously unpublished M. I. from Fatehgarh, United Provinces, were transcribed by Lieut.-Col. F. R. Cosens, I.A., who has kindly given me permission to publish them. Fatehgarh has been a British cantonment since 1775.

(a) *Headstones recovered since the Mutiny and now affixed to wall of Fort cemetery.*

1333. To the memory of Capt. (?) R. CHERRY . . . 1829. Aged . . . Also . . . Also . . .
1334. Sacred to the memory of Captain B. ROSE, who departed this life on the 8th of September 1801, aged 36 years.
1335. Here lieth the remains of James MERCER Esq. Born December 1788. Died 17th June 1853. In his 64th year. A resident of 37 years of this place.
1336. In memory of Major William Russell Wo (od), Departed . . .

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1337. Sacred to the memory of Arthur Evelyn, 4th son of Frederick and Anne Bull . . .
1338. Sacred to the memory of George Claude, son of Capt. BOILEAU Artillery and Sarah his wife, who died 16th December 1843, aged 11 months.
1339. Sacred to the memory of Mary MORGAN, wife of Joseph Morgan . . . departed this life on the 6th April 18 . . ., aged 24 years. . . . monument is erected by her (affectionate) (husband) in commemoration of . . . affectionate . . .
1340. To the memory of Master Thos. Chas. PEARS . . . son of Mr. Garratt Pears . . . who died Feb. 25th A.D. 1789 in the 3d. year of his age.
1341. Sacred to the memory of Captain Wm. REYNOLDS, lat(e) of the sixth Regt. B. N. I., who died in the 31st year of his age lamented for his talents and virtues.
1342. Erected to the memory of the Revd. H. P. STACY, D.D., F.L.S., Chaplain in the Bengal Establishment, who departed this life at Fattyghur on the 7th day of November in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, aged 47 years. By his afflicted widow.
1343. Sacred to the memory of Colonel Armine Simcoe Henry MOUNTAIN, C. B. and A. D. C. to the Queen, Adjutant General H. M.'s Forces in India, who died at Futtighurh on the 8th February 1854.  
(b) *In situ on tombs.*
1344. Armine Simcoe Henry MOUNTAIN, Col. and Adj. General. Feb. 1854. In memory of a loved husband to replace the memorial erected A.D. 1854 by the Commander in Chief and the Headquarter staff and destroyed A.D. 1857 during the rebellion of the Bengal Army.
1345. In memory of Lieut. Stuart DOUGLAS, H.M. 82nd Regt., who died at Futtighurh 10th January 1858.
1346. To the memory of William Allan son of . . . Decr. 1st. 1832, . . . y 8th 1833.
1347. Sacred to the memory of Capt. Samuel WOODCOCK of the 5th Regt. N.I. who departed this life the 17th of May 1823, aged 40 years.
1348. To the memory of Lieutt. Col. Wm. CUPPAGE, a worthy man and good officer, who served the East India Company faithfully and honourably 38 years. Died 1st July 1819. Aged 58 years.
1349. Sacred to the memory of Myra Elenora, the beloved and esteemed wife of the Rev. . . P. HASTINGS. With Christian resignation and firm though humble confidence in the mercy of God, this excellent young woman closed her mortal life Jany. 13th Anno Domini 1820, aged 19 years.
1350. To the memory of Lieutt. Col. Gregory HICKMAN E. I. C. S. who after a service of 45 years died the 11th May 1828. This monument is erected by the Society of Futtighur as a mark of their unqualified respect, admiration and esteem for the many amiable qualities of their deceased friend.



1351. To the memory of the late Lieut. M. BLOOD, 17th Regt. N. I., who died on 4th June 1831 aged 36. Erected by the officers of the 17th Regt.
1352. Sacred to the memory of Louisa, the beloved wife of Bannatyne W. MACLEOD, M.D., Superintending Surgeon, Born 31st Decr. 1801. Died 26th April 1848.
1353. In memory of W. R. P. ROBERTS Esq. Engineer to the G. C. Agency. Died 27th June 1851, aged 34 years. By I. C. Deb.
1354. Sacred to the memory of David HOME Esquire of the Civil Service, who departed this life on the 28th of September 1835, aetat. 29 years.
1355. Sacred to the memory of Anna Robertson STEWART, daughter of Robert and Mary Stewart, who departed this life on the 2nd day of July in the year of Our Lord 1821, aged 3 months and 29 days.
1356. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Sarah JEFFREYS, late wife of the Reverend Richard Jeffreys, Chaplain of this station, who possessed of all the exterior qualities which adorn her sex was still more distinguished by the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit which in the sight of God is of great price. For excellent talents and endowments she chose as the sphere of action an unremitted and exemplary attention to the health and improvement of her children, fourteen of whom survived her. From this no outward solicitations could withdraw her. But opportunities of more extended good which that she was diligent to seek out and employ many instances of well directed benevolence as well in this as in her native land can testify. Having these fruits of a lively faith yet trusting solely in the merits of a Redeemer an example of true humility she rested in peace on the 5th day of July 1809, aged 41 years . . .
1357. In memory of . . . (? Amy) daughter of George and Frances IVES. Born December 20th. 1833. Died October 1st. 1840.
1358. In memory of Mrs. Catherine BUSH who departed this life on the 2nd of July 1821, aged 52 years.
1359. Sacred to the memory of Charles Colinson BLACKBURN Esqre. who died on the 29th Sepr. 1828, aged 30 years.
1360. In memory of John George BLACKBURN. Died 9th July 1829, aged 13 months.
1361. In this grave are deposited the sacred remains of William RENNELL Esquire, late of the Civil Service, who departed this life on the 26th day of July 1819 in the 39th year of his age.
1362. Here lie the remains of Robert CARSHORE Esquire, a merchant long known and respected at this station, who departed this life on the 13th day of April 1821, aged 54 years, 7 months and 11 days.
1363. To the memory of Colonel John POWELL, who died on the 14th Jan. 1804 in the fortysixth year of his age. This monument is erected by his ever affectionate brother Peregrine POWELL.
1364. Sacred to the memory of Lieutt. Alexander BURROWES of the 10th Bn. of Sepoys, who fell . . . execution of his duty . . . (d. 1792).

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1365. Here rests the body of . . . (Brevet Captain) St. Leger Hay Wood GILLMAN Major of Brigade, departed this life on the . . . (23) of October . . . (1795).
1366. Sacred to the memory of R. L. DAVIES Esq. Surgeon of the H. Comp. Med. Est. who died 21st July 1818 aged 43 years. This monument is erected by his afflicted wife on her leaving the station as a last tribute due to the memory of an affectionate and indulgent husband.
1367. Sacred to the memory of Lieut. H. C. O'DOWDA, 43rd B. N. I. Actg. Adj. Punjab Rifles, who having been preserved by God's mercy throughout the Siege of Lucknow in the year 1857, died at Futtygurh on the 20th January 1858 at the early age of 18 years 8 months and 18 days, esteemed and regretted by all who knew him.
1368. The grave of Mary Jane, the devoted and beloved wife of Colonel Frank TURNER, C.B., Royal Bengal Artillery, born 16 September 1825, died 25 January 1862.
1369. Sacred to the memory of Susannah LUNDT who departed this life on the fourth day of October 1819, aged 70 years. This tomb was erected by her executors Sergeants John Cawood and Luke Kellan.
1370. Sacred to the memory of Lieutt. John Brown ROBINSON, 61st Regt. B. N. Infy., who died at Futty Ghur on the 2nd June 1830 in the 25th year of his age.
1371. Sacred to the memory of George Thomas, the infant son of Capt. REYNOLDS, 63rd Regt., who departed this life on the 1st November 1826, aged 4 months and 1 day.
1372. Sacred to the memory of . . . iam Morris. . .
1373. To the memory of Captain Edward CLAYTON, 5th N. Regt., who departed this life on the 16th of November 1799, aged 46 years.
1374. To the memory of Eliza MORTON, who died 11th September 1828, aged 14 months.
1375. Sacred to the memory of William MORTON Esqr. Died April 1829, aged 42 years.
1376. Sacred to the memory of . . . Robert DOW . . . Died September 27th 1791.
1377. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Eliza BIRCH, who departed this life on the . . .
1378. Mata. CONSTABLE. Born 13th May 1792. Died 4th September 1793.
1379. Robert William GRANT, son of Robert and Elizabh. Grant. Born May 20th 1790 Calcutta. Died September 17th 1790 Futtehghurr.
1380. Robt. Henry DOUGLAS. Aet. 6 men. Obiit 17th September 1789.
1381. Sacred to the memory of Ensign Chas. RAWNSLEY of the (? 1st) Batt. 18th Regt. N. I., who departed this life . . . 1811.
1382. To the memory of his beloved wife Caroline, who died on the . . . December 1851 in the 39th year of her age, this has been erected by Major John Halkett CRAIGIE, 20th Regt. N. I. Commanding Regt. Kelat-i-Gilzie.

1383. Sacred to the memory of Eleanor, the beloved wife of Lieutt. & Adjutt. S. B. COOK . . . Khilat-i-Ghilzie Regt., who departed this life on the 20th September 1849, aged 32 years. (*Should be Cookson*).
1384. To the memory of Major Robert WROUGHTON, 69th Regiment N. I., who departed this life at Futtighur on the 14th February 1850, aged 52 years, this monument is erected.
1385. Sacred to the memory of Harriet Alicia, only daughter of Charles ELLIOTT Esq., who departed this life the 23rd September 1811, aged 1 year, 8 months and 16 days.
1386. Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Eliza GAMON, who departed this life October 18th 1812, aged 21 years. Erected by her fond father Lt.-Col. Rutledge.
1387. To the memory of Barnard REILLY Esquire, Surgeon to the Civil Establishment at Fut(ty)ghur, who departed this . . . 24th (?) day of No(vember) . . . (Died 25 May 1816).
1388. Sacred to the memory of Mr. Rich: WIVELL, son to Mr. Condr. Jas. Wivell, who departed this life on the 6th of Novr. 1818, aged 17 years.
1389. Sacred to the memory of Frederick Hogan HALLIDAY, the beloved infant son of Elizabeth and Cornelius HICKIE. Born 16th July 1854. Died 17th November 1855.
1390. Sacred to the memory of Esther, the infant daughter of Josh. and Charlte. BRIERLEY, residing at Futteh Ghur, who died on 5th July 18(? 28), aged 1 year, 1 month and . . .
1391. Sacred to the memory of Sarah, the infant daughter of Joseph and Charlotte BRIERLEY, who departed this life on the 22nd of May 1831, aged 1 year, 10 months and 11 days.
1392. Sacred to the memory of Jane Grace, the beloved wife of Staff Sergeant E. F. FINLAY, Clothing Department, who departed this life on the 26th May 1846, aged 18 years and 2 months. . .
1393. Sacred to the memory of Caroline the beloved daughter of Capt. and Mrs. McCausland, who departed this life on the 31st October 1841, aged 2 years and 11 months.
1394. Sacred to the memory of Andrew FRASER, who departed this life the 31st of October 1815, aged 2 years, 11 months and 23 days. He was the only son of the late Major Andrew Fraser of the 25th Regt. N. I. This monument is erected by his afflicted mother as a proof of her fondness for a much beloved child.
1395. Sacred to the memory of Anne Elizabeth, the beloved wife of James MAXWELL of Mehndy Ghaut, who departed this life on the 27th February 1846, aged 22 years, 9 months and 15 days.
1396. Sacred to the memory of Ensign Thomas JONES of the 22nd Regiment of Native Infantry, who died at Futtehghur on the 20th of May 1847 in the twenty-first year of his age, deeply lamented by his brother officers.
1397. Sacred to the memory of John HEALY, late Quarter Master Sergeant 2nd Nasseeree Battalion, who departed this life on the . . . 181(? 8),

aged 30 years and . . . months. This tomb was erected (by his wife) who with three helpless children is left to deplore his loss.

(c) *Kasimbagh cemetery.*

1398. In memory of John Coulson PYLE. Born 17th December 1807. Died 14th March 1846.
1399. Sacred to the memory of Frederick PYLE, son of John Coulson and Margaret Pyle. Born 16th November 1840. Died 25th June 1842.
1400. In memory of Margaret, wife of I. C. PYLE, who departed this life at Furukhabad on the 8th October 1843, aged 29 years, 11 months and 8 days.
1401. Sacred to the memory of Colr. Sergt. J. CLEMENTS, H. M.'s 80th Regt., who departed this life on the 28th April A.D. 1858, aged 56 years, 8 months, leaving a wife and 6 children to deplore his irreparable loss. Deeply regretted by all who knew him. This tomb was erected by Paymaster W. Brown, 80th Regt.
1402. Sacred to the memory of Alfred, and Charles Alfred, infant sons of Henry and Maria BABONAU, who departed this life on the 22nd of December 1825 and on the 27th of September 1827, aged one year, six months and ten days, and one year, one month and sixteen days.
1403. Sacred to the memory of Wilfred HINE, born 25th April 1789 in the county of Cumberland, England, died at Futttyghur 4th Feby. 1855, aged 65 years, 9 months and 10 days, leaving 6 sorrowing sons and a large circle of relations and friends.
1404. In memory of Thomas Emmanuel, son of Adam and Emma ANTHONY, born at Allahabad 9th November 1859 and . . . gathered . . . into the fold above on the 26th July 1861.
1405. Sacred to the memory of M. Anne PRINTZLING, who died on the . . . in the . . . year of her age. This tribute . . .

H. BULLOCK.

# A Begum in Sussex.

THE STRANGE TALE OF DE BOIGNE'S INDIAN WIFE.

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IN a footnote on one of the later pages in the standard life of Benoit de Boigne by St. Genis (Poitiers 1873) it is related that he had two children "by an union in India in 1788, following the customs of the country, with the daughter of a Persian Colonel", that he brought the mother and the children (a son and a daughter) to England with him in 1797, and that the lady adopted the catholic religion and resided till her death under the name of Mrs. Bennett on a property which she had acquired in the county of Sussex.

No difficulty exists in tracing the children. Banu, the daughter, was baptized under the name of Anna and died in Paris in 1810. The son, Ali Bakhsh, who was born at Delhi in 1792 and received the Christian names of Charles Alexandre Benoit, succeeded his father in 1830 as second comte de Boigne (a Sardinian title conferred in 1816) and died in 1853. He left several sons and the family is still represented at Chambéry, the picturesque town, nine miles from the fashionable health resort of Aix-les-Bains, when the General was born in 1751, and where in 1803 he built himself on the outskirts a magnificent mansion which he named Buisson. De Boigne's many benefactions to his native town are commemorated by the Fontaine des Eléphants, a tall column surmounted by his statue and flanked by four colossal Elephants whose trunks provide a constant supply of water. There is an inscription in Latin—Benedicto de Boigne Camberiensi Grata Civitas M DCCC XXXVIII . . . Quam apud Indos Mahrattas fama nominis illustrate civis beneficus patriam inauditis Largitionibus replevit (1)—and two bas-reliefs, of which one represents de Boigne taking leave of his Mahratta friends at Gwalior, and the other shows him announcing his benefactions to the town councillors of Chambéry.

All this, as has been said, can easily be ascertained. But what of the Indian lady who, coming with de Boigne to Europe in 1797, "adopted the Catholic religion and resided till her death under the name of Mrs. Bennett on a property which she had acquired in the country of Sussex"?

De Boigne undoubtedly had more than one Indian wife. Captain Bullock, who has investigated the questions, mentions one of them in an article which he contributed to the *Statesman* of November 13, 1932. On the authority of a Marathi news-letter, which was brought to his notice by Dr. Surendranath Sen, he states that this Lady was a dancing girl of the

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(1) To Benedict (Benoit) de Boigne, a Grateful Township, 1838. A beneficent citizen, he filled with unheard-of gifts the place of his birth, which the renown of his name among the Mahrattas in India had covered with glory.

name of Moti Begum. The writer of the letter, who was almost certainly one of the Hingne brothers, the Maratha envoys to the Moghul court, informs Nana Farnavis, in the month of September 1790, that de Boigne the Firangi had come to Delhi and "his marriage settlement with . . . 's (illigible) daughter Moti Begum the dancing girl having been previously arranged, the marriage was performed then." At the same time, Captain Bullock does not fail to point out that September 11 (or 12) 1790 was the date of one of de Boigne's greatest victories, the battle of Merta, that he commanded in person upon that occasion, and that no record exists of this flying visit to Delhi—some 250 miles from Merta, as the crow flies—during the week or two following the battle when various negotiations with the defeated Rajputs were in progress. It must be admitted that these are serious obstacles in the way of accepting the Maratha document.

Nevertheless, Captain Bullock is inclined to identify Moti Begum with the "Mrs. Bennett" of St. Genis' footnote. But there is evidence to show that an Indian wife of de Boigne, whom he would naturally have married (as he married Moti Begum) by Muslim rites, was known by the name of "Helena Bennett," Sir Jadunath Sarkar communicated to a recent number of *Bengal : Past and Present* (Vol. XLIII, p. 150) the interesting fact that in his copy of St. Genis' book a slip of paper has been inserted on which a former owner has written in French: "The first wife of General de Boigne was the daughter of a Persian Colonel named Hélène Bennett Begum—1788." The surname Bennett is obviously an anglicized form of Benoit, the Christian name of de Boigne: we come across it in the names—Warren Hastings Bennet—given by Antonio Angelo Tremamondo, the Calcutta riding master, to his third son who was born in London in 1797, and whose godfathers (according to the entry in the baptismal register) were Warren Hastings and "General Bennet Boyne" (2). The other name Hélène is explained by Sir Jadunath as a corruption of Halima which a Frenchman would transliterate as Heleme and would then easily be turned into Hélène, or Helena.

Moreover, M. Maurice Besson, in the latest book on de Boigne (Chambéry, 1930) introduces two other begums whom the General left behind in India when he returned to Europe, and of whom one may very well be Moti Begum. He prints a letter written by de Boigne to his successor Perron in 1801, in which he says: "Finding myself seriously embarrassed by the death of my estimable friend General Martin on account of the pension which I am paying to two women, one residing at Koel (Aligarh) and the other at Delhi, and being apprehensive that they may not receive the eighty two rupees a month, I beg of you to attend to the matter." It should be added that M. Besson repeats the statement that the General brought to England with him "une belle Indienne" and two children, a son and a daughter, of whom she was the mother; but he makes no reference to the Sussex legend.

It is this legend which I propose to examine. Captain Bullock has been pressing me for some time to enquire further into the story: but it struck

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(2) See *Bengal : Past and Present*: Vol. XXXV, p. 153.

me as wildly improbable and until recently I did nothing. I have now to confess my error. It occurred to me some weeks ago to mention the matter to Mr. Arthur Beckett of Eastbourne, the editor of the *Sussex County Magazine*. He urged me to insert a query in the September number: and this I did. To my great surprise, I received in reply two exceedingly interesting letters from Horsham, which rebuke my unbelief and solve the mystery.

There is, it appears, a tomb in the Horsham parish Churchyard, the first on the right of the entrance—which is inscribed with the name of Helena Bennett and which local tradition associates with a "Lady of Colour" who resided for many years in the eastern portion of St. Leonards Forest, first at Colgate Lodge and latterly at an old cottage in the Forest known as Rangers Lodge.

The grave is surmounted by a flat stone, and the Gothic lettering of the inscription is said to be almost obliterated. But one of my informants has succeeded in deciphering the following Latin words:

HELENA BENNETT VIDUA DEFUNCTA  
OCT: 1855 ANNO AETATIS SUAE . . . .

The month and year are distinctly indistinct: and while the reading "Oct: 1855" appears to be reasonably correct from a rubbing which has been sent to me, it does not tally with the entry in the parish register which has been found by the same gentleman and which runs:

Helena Bennett, Jany. 4, 1854, aged 81.

A. W. Cornwall, Curate.

Assuming that the tomb is that of de Boigne's Indian wife, we must take it that the later date in the inscription is due to carelessness when the stone was placed over the grave (presumably under the instructions of some member of the de Boigne family) in that year. Mrs. Bennett was certainly a widow (*Vidua*), for the General died in 1830; and if she was 81 in 1854, this would indicate that she was fifteen at the time of her marriage in 1788. The tomb is of a substantial character and was formerly surrounded by a railing: but this was removed about two years ago when the churchyard was closed and was itself railed in. The stone is situated north and south, which, my correspondent tells me, is accepted locally as evidence of the Lady's eastern origin—as indeed it is. If we turn up Hughes' Dictionary of Islam and look at the section on Burial and Graves, we shall find it stated that among Mahomedans, "the corpse is placed on its back in the grave, with the head to the north and the feet to the south, the face being turned in the direction of Mecca."

The discovery of the grave in a Church of England parish cemetery disposes of the statement made by St. Genis that Mrs. Bennett adopted the Catholic religion: but we have still to connect the lady who is buried at Horsham with de Boigne.

This connexion has been established, in my judgment, by my second informant, who is the owner of a printed volume of the evidence given in the year 1900 during the trial of an action between the Harsham Urban District Council and Mr. Molyneux, the then owner of a part of St. Leonards Forest, regarding a public right of way through the Forest. I am assured that this book contains numerous reference to an old lady of dark complexion living at Rangers Lodge, who is variously named as Mrs. Bennett, Mus. Bennet, and Lady Bennett. One of the witnesses (who deposed to events occurring during their childhood) recalled that she came to his father for apartments "sixty years ago", that is to say, about the year 1840. When, no doubt she had vacated Colgate Lodge after the death of de Boigne. Another witness stated that he had worked for her at Rangers Lodge which was locally known as "The Black Woman's House." A third witness attempted a personal description: "she was not a thorough black: she was more a mulatto: she was yellow: she was called the Black Woman. I called her a lady." The general impression was that she came from Africa, which is merely a confession of ignorance and important only as indicating that, while none of the witnesses were aware of the origin or antecedents of the lady, all were agreed that she was not European.

In view of this evidence, I have little hesitation in identifying Mrs. Helena Bennett, of St. Leonards Forest, Sussex, with the Indian wife of de Boigne. But of that Indian wife there is not much else to say. She may be Moti Begum, or she may not. Of the Persian Colonel, we know nothing, and no record of the marriage in 1788 is forthcoming.

As regards her presence in Sussex, it is difficult to understand why de Boigne brought her to England at all, or why, having brought her, he should have deserted her. It is true that he contracted a further marriage with a young Frenchwoman—the daughter of the Marquis d'Osmont, French ambassador at the Court of St. James—and that the ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, at the French Chapel in Paddington Street, London, on June 11, 1798. This was within a year of his arrival from India: but a separation speedily took place. Why did he not then send for the begum to join him? He had taken her children from her and yet he left her to live alone among strangers. Her son seems likewise to have neglected her, for, according to my Harsham informants, she ended her days in reduced circumstances.

Tod, the historian of Rajasthan, has left such a pleasant picture of the old warrior in his retirement at Chambéry, that the heartlessness of his behaviour to the begum, calls for explanation. That explanation is not provided by the two French biographers of de Boigne, nor, as far I know, can it be found anywhere else. The veil, it will be seen, is lifted only in part. Yet what can be more surprising than the glimpse which we obtain of this Indian lady living a solitary life in Sussex for more than half a century?

EVAN COTTON.

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## A Voyage to Calcutta in 1761.

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*Note.*—The MS. of this narrative was found among the papers of a Scottish family. I have not found any clue to its authorship.

A. C.

ON the 30th of March, 1761, we set sail from England on board the *Plassey*, Indiaman, being ordered on His Majesty's Service to Madras, and on June 30th came to an anchor at the small island of Masambique, a Portuguese settlement on the east coast of Africa.

This island is about three miles in circumference, extremely barren. The Portuguese are supplied with the necessaries of life from the continent, which by their accounts is almost as poor as the island; and, if we might judge from the entertainments they made for us, we had no reason to doubt their veracity. However, it abounds with limes, plantanes, coco-nuts, pine apples, oranges and other tropical fruits. Here I saw a few small cows and goats, and a few small sheep of a reddish colour, without any wool. I saw no horses, and was told they had none in that country. The town is small, and makes a mean appearance. It is defended by a paltry fort, built on a point towards the sea, and commands the entrance into the harbour. Here are two small churches and one convent.

On our landing we were conducted to the Governor, who received us very politely; but we understood very little of what each other said, because our interpreter was bad. His Excellency was of a good stature, agreeable aspect, and genteel deportment. He is respected with all the formalities of a crowned head, even to the bending of the knee. He is not allowed to marry while Governor, or to continue above six years in his office. Our audience was short; and after common compliments we went to view the town, with thousands of slaves at our heels, which the merchants buy up in the country and send to the Brazils.

We had not gone far when we were accosted by a man who spoke English very well. He told us he had been in our India Company's service: kindly invited us to his house—which we made our home during our stay; and served us usefully in quality of interpreter.

This day being the feast of St. Peter and the Governor's birthday, we were in the evening invited to a masquerade. Before the masques began to dance we were entertained with a few songs in praise of the Governor. The words might be good; but the musick was wretched. The number of masques did not exceed fifty, and no ladies amongst them: some few men dressed in women's apparel performed the office of the ladies. I asked our interpreter

if they had any in the settlement. He told me they had ; but that his countrymen, being naturally jealous, did not chuse to produce their ladies in publick assemblies, even tho' there should be no strangers in the place. The diversions of the night were closed with a supper, consisting chiefly of frigasies and preserves. They had prepared for us a joint of sorry beef and a poor lean pig, great dainties, and undoubtedly imagined we would think ourselves feasted ; but to their great astonishment the beef and pig were suffered to be carried off unmolested. However, if we did not eat, our entertainers ate for us. A ham and cheese presented by the captain of our ship were greedily devoured, particularly by the priests, who used their teeth and plied their glasses as if they were resolved to make up for their day's fast ; but, unhappily for them, they drank too freely of beer and porter, which sent them down-stairs tumbling over each other.

The climate is reckoned unhealthy, and tho' we were here in the dead of winter we thought the heat intolerable. Their whole trade consists in slaves, elephants' teeth, and a little gold dust : they have no manufactures of any sort.

After a week's stay we departed from the place, and in a month arrived off Madras, but, not being able to get in, steered for Visigapatnam, an English settlement, five degrees to the northward of Madras and dependent on it. We got to this place on the 4th of August. Here I did not go ashore, being indisposed, but the officers who did assured me it was a very pleasant place. The inhabitants here and on the other parts of the Coromandel Coast have a very curious kind of vessel called a catamaran, which is nothing else than three or four logs of wood fastened together at each end with a rope. On this they kneel, their heels supporting their posteriors, and with a paddle in their hand, navigate their little bark with surprising dexterity, and that too in the most tempestuous weather when no boat of whatever size dare venture to sea. I saw a sailor cut the ropes of a catamaran in a frolick ; and presently the whole vessel was dismembered. However the amphibious owners leaped into the sea and soon repaired her.

The Governor of this place would not receive His Majesty's troops : so we were obliged to go for Bengal, and on the 16th of August came to an anchor in the famous river Ganges, having lost but one soldier since we left England. Soon after we were disembarked and sent up the river about 100 miles to Calcutta, the Company's settlement, situated on the banks of the river, which even here is almost a mile in breadth. The town is large, irregular, and populous. The houses are built very spacious, with flat roofs, a great many windows and doors for the benefit of air, and are generally well contrived and make a handsome appearance. This settlement carries on a very extensive trade with the other parts of India, and the many private fortunes acquired here are a convincing proof of its immense riches.

The climate of Bengal is perhaps as bad as any in the universe, and remarkably fatal to our countrymen. It abounds so much with standing waters and the earth is so much impregnated with saltpetre that when the Sun rarifies the water the air becomes absolutely putrid, and this occasions the frequency

of agues and putrid fevers. In the winter season mists and fogs are very frequent in the evenings and mornings, which are very cold ; yet the day is very hot. The whole country has a disagreeable aspect : so low that not a mole-hill is to be seen : full of woods and thickets, the haunt of tigers. The produce of Bengal is wheat, rice, and tropical fruits. Their beef, when sometime stall fed, is good : the kid and mutton excellent : cabbage, pease, beans, and other vegetables are good and in abundance during the months of November, December, January, and February. Their poultry, tho' plenty, is very dear ; and they have no fish except what their river and ponds produce, which are very bad.

It is a frequent observation that the English gentlemen, finding unexpectedly this country to produce what is common to them in England, are too apt to indulge their appetites ; so that it is become a saying that they live like Englishmen and die like rotten sheep. Of 84 rank and file, which our company consisted of on our arrival, we had but 34 remaining in three months—a convincing proof how fatal this climate is to Europeans. The most adult and robust are most particularly unhealthy.

The inhabitants of Bengal wear turbans on their heads and a piece of cotton cloth rolled round their loins : all the rest of the body is naked. The better sort wear a habit like a night-gown. They are divided into a great number of tribes or castes—I mean the Gentoos, who are the original possessors of the country ; the Moors (whose religion is Mahomedan) are intruders only.

The Gentoos, tho' pagans, yet have a confused idea of one Supreme Being and a future state. Many of them adopt the opinions of Pythagoras. They are a gentle, harmless, and inoffensive people ; adhering strictly to their own ancient customs and manners, notwithstanding that the Moors, who conquered them, are almost as numerous as themselves. Simple indeed in their diet, but not so in their tempers, being greatly addicted to overreaching, and they think it meritorious to impose on a white man. They are slender in their persons and very agreeably featured. A very barbarous custom prevails among them, quite inconsistent with their character, and that is, they burn the living wives with their deceased husbands. When the husband is laid upon the pile, his wife must stretch herself on his body, and her eldest son or nearest male relation sets the first torch to it. Several instances of this happened while I was at Calcutta. If the woman declines or absolutely refuses to comply with this custom, they will not compel, but excommunicate her their tribe or caste. After which life becomes indeed a bruthen ; so that the poor unhappy woman is forced to chuse either to be burnt or to starve. But this custom is observed by the better sort only : it prevails most among the Banyans, who are commonly merchants. I have often discoursed with the Banyans on this subject ; and they told me, as it was an injunction of their Bramenies or priests from time immemorial, they thought themselves obliged to follow the example of their father in this as well as everything else.

If the sick is thought past recovery—I mean among the common sort—they carry him to the river, and, after stopping his nose, mouth, and ears

with mud, they commit as yet living to the stream. I have seen numbers floating at a time. They pay divine honours to this river.

The Gentoos' manner of taking an oath before a court of judicature is odd enough. I have attended at a General Court Martial when several of these people, who had taken up the deserter, were brought in to give their evidence, with a Bramenie attending them, who administered out of a silver cup a spoonful of a certain herb and water ; which having swallowed, they wished it might prove their poison if they did not tell the truth.

Should any European enter their houses, they imagine them to be then polluted ; neither will they eat or drink anything that has been touched by Europeans, or even Moors, whom they hate—and not without reason, for they are a lazy, haughty people, oppressing without mercy where they have any power.

The trade of Bengal consists chiefly in saltpetre, muslin, raw silk, opium, and handkerchiefs. They export likewise a great quantity of rice.

After a stay of five months we left this Golgotha, and arrived in Madras in February, 1762, with the miserable remains of our company and diseases sticking to us from which the change of climate and skill of doctors freed a few of us, tho' not in a short time.

Madras, or Fort St. George, lies on the coast of Coromandel, a pretty, compact, well built town, and extremely well fortified. The trade of this place is not so flourishing as that of Bengal, but the climate much preferable. The sea breezes cool the air ; and the adjacent country is not encumbered with woods or low shrubs, nor have they any standing waters. Yet it too has its diseases, which are chiefly fluxes and an inflammation in the liver ; but in general it is healthy. In the months of May, June, July, August, and September the land or hot winds blow very strong and are very troublesome. This country produces very little wheat and rice, and, except their fish, provisions in general are neither so good nor plenty as in Bengal. The country in general is ill peopled and ill cultivated. The inhabitants differ very little from those of Bengal : they seem to be the same sort of people.

We had the pleasure of the Nabob's company here for a few months lately, and he did us the honour to come and see us reviewed. His complexion is olive and his person graceful. He has little or no retinue—except a rabble of the common blacks may be called so. His Begham, or queen, received the visits of the ladies of the settlement ; but no gentleman was allowed to see her. It is the custom of the Moors to lock up their wives from the sight of all mankind. Her Majesty is ill favoured and awkward. She was greatly at a loss how to receive her visitors : however, she was polite enough to dismiss them all with presents.

I must here observe that the settlements of Calcutta and Madras are abominably addicted to scandal. A great many young women, generally mantua-makers, milliners, etc., come annually to this country in quest of husbands, and are amazingly successful ; in so much that one would be apt to think the gentlemen marry here for such a dowry as is somewhere

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mentioned in Plautus—*Nor ego illam mihi dotem esse puto quae dos dicitur, sed pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatam cupidinem.* What these ladies have formerly been is very conspicuous in their behaviour, which is an awkward attempt to appear what they never were. This and the distant voyage these bold adventurers make, who seldom have any relations or friends, or even acquaintances, in the country, and who come upon the strength of recommendation only, naturally creates suspicions which break out into scandal.

The people of these settlements live in astonishing luxury, but notwithstanding have very little politeness among them. One seldom meets with a father and son, two brothers, uncle and nephew, or even cousins in one settlement ; and as they have no ties of blood to cement their friendships, 'tis no wonder we find them so selfish. Everyman's fortune seems to depend on the death, ruin, or removal of another.

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## “The Deputation of Messrs. Amyatt and Hay to Mir Qasim.”

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MIR QASIM'S attitude after the disastrous conclusion of the Nepal expedition had been such as was bound to give the hostile majority in the Council numerous occasions for quarrel. He had not only betrayed an open distrust of the English, but had done everything to undermine their influence and trade in the country. The numerous acts of violence, which had been lately perpetrated by his subordinates, could not all be unauthorised. Orders had also been issued by the zealous officials that no Englishman should be allowed to remain in the country, and that no 'ryot' should have dealings with them. This could never have been due to the insolence of individual officials alone. The Nawab himself had declared his intention to oppose force by force, and had justified the attack that he had ordered to be made on the factory at Tajpur ; and, finally, the unprovoked attack on the Company's sepoys at Gaya plainly indicated the bellicose temper of the Nawab. It was further reported that the Nawab had of late been making unusual preparations for war. To crown all, the latter had recently announced a total abolition of customs duties for two years. Nothing could have given greater offence to the majority in the Council, who had always regarded the Nawab as an enemy of the English, and now felt convinced of the necessity for overthrowing him.

The only alternative to an immediate declaration of war was an amicable compromise, and this was what the Governor honestly insisted upon, because he sincerely believed that the Nawab did not really mean to break with the English. Mr. Amyatt had offered to go (1) on a deputation to the Nawab with Mr. Hay to present the Council's demands, and negotiate the terms of a fresh agreement with respect to inland trade, and the need (2) for such a mission was considered to be all the more urgent, when the Council was informed of the sudden remission of all duties by the Nawab. This action of the latter was regarded as a virtual infringement of the Company's commercial privileges. (3) The Governor was directed by the Council to write (4) to the Nawab, “. . . if you oppose our people in the execution of orders which we have authorized, and with which you have been acquainted, we shall look upon such conduct as an open declaration

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(1) Beng. Pub. Cons., March 7, 1763. Trans. P.L.I., 1762-63, Nos. 33-35, p. 34-40.

(2) Beng. Pub. Cons., March 24, 1763.

(3) Beng. Pub. Cons., March 22, 1763.

(4) Trans. P.L.I., 1762-63, No. 40, p. 46.

of war, but to shew you our earnest desire to prevent such an event, we continue in our resolution to send you Mr. Amyatt (who will be accompanied by Mr. Hay) for the purpose we have wrote you, as soon as we shall receive your answer to that letter." The Nawab indignantly declined to receive any deputation, or conclude a new agreement, and in his letter, (5) dated March 22, referred to the Company's farmans in a most offensive and contemptuous manner. His attitude was bitterly condemned by the majority in the Council (6) on April 1, but it was ultimately agreed that "the Nawab should again be wrote to, to insist of his receiving the deputation, and that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to, and wait for, his answer at Cossimbazar." The Governor had to write (7) to the Nawab on the same day strongly protesting against the improper style of his letters, and urging the necessity of his receiving the proposed deputation. The Nawab was also definitely told that a refusal on his part to accede to the Council's demands would be looked upon as "a declaration on his side of his intention to come to a rupture."

It is clear from every one of the Nawab's letters that he was absolutely unwilling to welcome the mission of Amyatt and Hay, and that he sought to discourage the idea of any such deputation. His reasons were expressed in his characteristic style. In the first place, he represented that he did not expect any good would come out of a fresh agreement, and stated, "If the former treaty on which I depended is of no use to me, and I have not passed a single moment free from trouble and dispute, will a fresh treaty be of use to me?" (8) In the second place, he pointed out that as he had now abolished all duties, there remained no necessity for any negotiation, and added, "I have now only the revenues of a small parcel of land. If you send him to negotiate this, let me know. As to mercantile affairs, I have relinquished everything, and nothing remains for him to negotiate." (9) Finally, he protested against the imprisonment of his 'amils', and the frequent use of force by the Chiefs of factories, and argued that it was futile for him to negotiate under such humiliating circumstances. He wrote, "On the one side you use only violent measures, while on the other, looking towards the treaties between us, you send to confer. A conference, attended with such unreasonable violences, never was heard of in any country." (10)

MIR QASIM's aversion to the proposed visit of Amyatt and Hay was, however, due to different reasons. Firstly, it is apparent from the Nawab's whole correspondence after the rejection of his agreement with the Governor by the Council that he believed his own deposition to be its real objective, and that he considered every step taken by it to be inspired by this motive. The very fact of the Council's sending two of its members to treat with him

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(5) Trans. P.L.R. 1763, No. 32, p. 41 (Jan.-Sept.), No. 33, p. 44.

(6) Beng. Pub. Cons., April 1, 1763.

(7) Trans. P.L.R., 1762-63, No. 41, p. 46.

(8) Trans. P.L.R. (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 32, p. 41.

(9) Trans. P.L.R., No. 35, p. 48.

(10) Trans. P.L.R. No. 37, p. 52.

served only to confirm his worst suspicions. Secondly, he knew that Amyatt was leader of the opposition against himself, and that he had always condemned the late revolution. (11) He must have felt very uneasy when he was informed of his proposed mission to Monghyr. He regarded Amyatt in no other light than as one of his avowed opponents. It is thus easy to understand why he should have shown an extreme reluctance to accept his deputation. Thirdly, he was also aware of Amyatt's close connections with Ellis, and this fact again may have caused his anxiety. He might have suspected that Amyatt was coming to Bihar at the instance of Ellis with some ulterior object. Fourthly, he was led to believe that Amyatt was to come at the head of a large force, and this made him extremely nervous. He thought that the proposed negotiation was only a convenient pretext for marching against his capital to depose him. Fifthly, he deemed it humiliating to submit to the dictation of Amyatt, and Hay in matters that concerned his own government. In his letter, dated April 11, the Nawab indirectly gave vent to this feeling in the following words, "By what you write of other articles of business, besides the customs, I understand that for this remaining country, which is left for my share, you have appointed me 'amil', or regard me as 'wadadar', or 'zemindar', or 'gomastah', or 'muttaseddee', that you have given in charge to the said gentlemen other articles of business, exclusive of customs." Lastly, the Nawab was surely encouraged (12) in his opposition to the proposed mission by his trusted general, Gurgin Khan, who advised his master to reject the proposal of the Council, because, if he happened to yield now, he would always have to submit to its dictates in future. In fact, the Nawab must have decided not to yield to the clamour of the Council in the hope that by his strong attitude he would be able to force it to accede to his own demands.

That the Nawab looked upon the proposed deputation as only a repetition of the mission that had brought about the overthrow of his father-in-law is in a way proved by his sudden internment of the two Seths, Mahtab Ray, and Sarup Chand. This was clearly due to his suspicion that the latter might be engaged in some secret conspiracy against him with the English. He knew what part these great bankers had played in the revolutions of 1757, and 1760 ; and, therefore, considered them too dangerous to be allowed to stay at Murshidabad just at this time when he expected a rupture with the English. (13) The Nawab resolved to remove the Seths from Murshidabad, and ordered Muhammad Taqi Khan, Faujdar of Birbhum, to seize, and hand them over to Mercat, an Armenian officer, who was sent to escort them to Monghyr. (14) As this was a breach (15) of the promise which the Nawab had made to Mr. Vansittart upon his accession to the masnad, the latter

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(11) Amyatt had very severely criticised the Revolution of 1760 in a formal minute soon after Mir Qasim's accession (Beng. Sel. Com., Jan. 8, 1761). Vide also Verelst's View etc., p. 48.

(12) Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 720, Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S.V., p. 609). Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ MS., p. 785).

(13) Siyar, p. 721, Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 786.

(14) Siyar, p. 721.

(15) Vansittart's Narrative, III. p. 206.



protested against this disgrace of the Seths, and represented to the Nawab that they were men of high rank, and had never been thus treated in the time of the former 'Nazims', and that the treatment now meted out to them was a violation of the agreement that had been made with respect to them at the time when the Nawab was raised to the 'Masnad'. (16) To this complaint the Nawab replied sarcastically (17) that when the English daily carried away his subordinates, and kept them in confinement there could be no breach of faith, but when he chanced to summon one of his own dependents, the agreement, of course, was violated! The Nawab justified the step taken against the Seths on the following grounds. (18) Firstly, he held that they were his "dependents." This was, however, an abused claim. They were the heads of one of the greatest banking houses in India, (19) and they occupied too extraordinary a position in the country to be mere creatures of any particular Nawab. Secondly, he complained, ". . . they have put a stop to all their mercantile business, and have done all they could to throw the affairs of the 'Nizamat' into confusion, and treated me as an enemy, and outlaw." This is too sweeping a charge to need any elaborate criticism. Thirdly, he maintained that they were obliged to settle wherever the Nawab himself lived. "Now I have brought them to this place," he wrote, "that they may always be with me, and attend to my business and their own according to custom." This is a plausible excuse, but the Nawab did not explain why he had not forced them to accompany him earlier, and why he had recourse to violent methods in subjecting them to unprecedented ill-treatment at Murshidabad. The real explanation of their forcible deportation to Monghyr is the Nawab's apprehension of a secret understanding between them and the English.

Amyatt's intercession (20) on their behalf only confirmed this suspicion of the Nawab who retorted to him saying that the Seths must have had some kind of connection with the English, otherwise it would be difficult to account for their uneasiness about this affair. (21) In short, the Nawab was afraid that the Seths might escape to Calcutta, and join the Council against him. (22) It was in order to anticipate this that he suddenly compelled them to come to Monghyr without giving them previous notice. At Monghyr, they were outwardly treated with every distinction, and were allowed to attend the 'Durbar', and transact business as heretofore, but the Nawab secretly ordered spies to keep an eye on their movements lest they should attempt to escape. (23) Thus the Nawab not only prevented the possibility of any intrigue between the Seths and Amyatt, but also brought under his control

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(16) Trans. P.L.I., 1762-63, No. 45, p. 50.

(17) Trans. P.L.R. (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 44, p. 68.

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) Siyar, p. 721.

(20) Amyatt to the Nawab. Trans. P.L.R., (Apr.-June), 1763, No. 6, p. 6.

(21) Nawab to Amyatt. Trans. P.L.R., 1763, No. 14, p. 11.

(22) Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 610).

(23) *Ibid.*; and Siyar, p. 721; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 786.

the richest bankers in Bengal whose wealth he could freely confiscate in case a war broke out with the English.

As for the deputation of Amyatt and Hay, when the Nawab realised it could not be stopped, or postponed, he insisted that those gentlemen should not be accompanied by more than one, or two companies of sepoys. (24) "If they come with only one or two companies of necessary attendants, he wrote, "I have no objection." Again, on April 15, the Nawab wrote more emphatically, (25) "Recall all your troops that you have despatched by every road towards this way, and let Mr. Amyatt proceed hither in the same manner that you came to visit me . . . . if you consent not to this, and refuse to recall your forces, and are obstinately bent upon my dishonour, I am without remedy." Messrs Amyatt and Hay, who had so long been awaiting the Nawab's final reply at Cossimbazar received on the 21st of April a reluctant permission (26) to proceed to Monghyr, but they were asked to send their escort back. It was only after a heated debate that the majority in the Council came to the decision that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay should proceed to Monghyr. (27) As a matter of fact, the suspicions of the Nawab were absolutely baseless. His idea (28) that troops were being secretly despatched in every direction was only an illusion.

Mr. Vansittart writes, (29) "At this time not a soldier had moved from his quarters." He assured (30) the Nawab that only a small military escort had been sent with Amyatt and Hay. It is needless to add that the Nawab had been labouring under the misconception that Amyatt was coming at the head of a large army with some sinister design. The memory of Mr. Vansittart's mission to Murshidabad in 1760 must have been fresh in his mind.

Anxious to know the real intentions of Amyatt, the Nawab deputed Mir Abdullah and Ghulam Husain, the author of the "Siyar", along with twenty spies to meet the latter while he was on his way to Monghyr, and find out the underlying motive of his visit. (31) As Amyatt had been simply informed that Mir Abdullah and Ghulam Husain were coming to receive him (32) on behalf of the Nawab, he never knew that he was to be closely watched by spies disguised as menial servants, or messengers. It was Ghulam Husain, who whispered to Amyatt while embracing him that spies had been set upon them. (33) Warned by the latter, Amyatt avoided any discussion on the objects of his mission, lest it should be misrepresented. The Nawab recalled Mir Abdullah and Ghulam Husain, when the party reached

(24) Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept. (1763), No. 37, p. 52.

(25) Trans. P.L.R. Jan.-Sept. (1763), No. 40, p. 60.

(26) Trans. P.L.R., 1763, Nos. 5 & 6, pp. 3-5.

(27) Beng. Pub. Cons., 20th April, 1763.

(28) Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept. (1763), No. 40, p. 60.

(29) Narrative, III, p. 144.

(30) Trans. P.L.R., 1762-63, No. 44, p. 49.

(31) Siyar, p. 722.

(32) Nawab to Amyatt. Trans. P.L.R., 1763, No. 13, p. 10.

(33) Siyar, p. 722.

Bhagalpur, and subjected them to a minute cross-examination of which a vivid description has been left by Ghulam Husain in his "*Siyar*". (34) The Nawab seems now to have been under the impression that Amyatt had come either to intrigue against him, or pry into the state of his army and fort. When the party reached the neighbourhood of Monghyr, the Nawab sent his nephew Abu Ali Khan, and Raja Naubat Ray to offer a formal reception to Amyatt and Hay. (35) At Monghyr the latter were suitably welcomed by the Nawab himself who paid them a complimentary visit at their camp. Amyatt and Hay duly returned the visit to the Nawab. During these ceremonial visits the usual feasts, dances, and bonfires were arranged in honour of the guests. (36)

It was on (37) May 15 that Amyatt waited on the Nawab to explain the demands of the Council. During the conversation that followed, they found it difficult to discuss each item separately, hence the Nawab asked Amyatt to set it down in writing all that the Council had to represent to him. Thereupon, Amyatt delivered to the Nawab a Persian translation of the list of the demands, and it was then duly read and discussed. The latter did not give any final reply and asked Amyatt to leave the list and the 'Farman' with him. The next evening, Amyatt and Hay were asked by the Nawab's 'munshi', Hafiz Asrar Khan, to sign and seal the Persian copy of the demands, and this was accordingly done. On the 18th, Amyatt and Hay again waited on the Nawab, and asked for his final reply. The latter only gave a non-committal reply, and requested for a few days' time to consider the demands fully.

The following (38) is a summary of the demands presented by Amyatt and Hay :

- (i) The recent agreement made with Mr. Vansittart should be annulled.
- (ii) Reparation should be made for the losses sustained by the English merchants both before and after the said agreement.
- (iii) The 'Sanad' granted by the Nawab for the remission of all duties should be cancelled, as it deprives the English of the advantages to which they are entitled by the Royal 'Farman'.
- (iv) The disputes between the English agents, and the dependents of the Nawab should be adjusted in the following manner—A 'Gumashtah' shall, in the first instance, apply to an officer of the government residing on the spot, but if he fails to receive immediate satisfaction, he shall send his complaint to the chief of the nearest factory. If, on the other hand, a dependent of the Nawab has a complaint against a 'Gumashtah', he shall give

(34) *Ibid.*, p. 723.

(35) Nawab to Amyatt. Trans. P.L.R., 1763, No. 16, p. 15.

(36) *Siyar*, p. 723.

(37) Amyatt and Hay to Calcutta, dated May 18, 1763.

(38) These formed part of the instructions of the Council to Messrs. Amyatt and Hay (*vide* Beng. Pub. Cons., March 22, 24, 28, and April 1, 1763 and also June 6, 1763).

the latter due notice of it, and in case the said 'Gumashtah' declines to settle the matter amicably, he shall report the case to the chief of the nearest factory. The gentlemen of the factories shall be obliged to maintain a register of such complaints, a copy of which shall be sent to Calcutta every month.

- (v) There should always be an English Resident at the 'Durbar' to transact all business between the Government and the Company.
- (vi) 'Jagiri Sanads' should be granted to the Company for Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong.
- (vii) The money coined at the Company's mint should be declared current, and the English should be permitted to coin three lakhs of rupees annually in each of the mints of Dacca and Patna.
- (viii) The amount spent by Muhammad Riza Khan in the expedition to Tippera should be reimbursed.
- (ix) An exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the officer who insolently offered unprovoked violence to the Company's sepoys at Gaya.
- (x) The Seths should be released.

On May 26, (39) the Nawab at last sent his formal reply to the above demands. A perusal of his reply (40) makes it abundantly clear that the Nawab was determined neither to be tactful, nor to be conciliatory. It may be thus summed up :

- (i) The officers are being notified that the Governor's agreement is null and void ;
- (ii) The losses of the English merchants can be compensated, only when his own losses are fully indemnified ;
- (iii) It was only for the sake of his friendship with the English that he preferred to lose lakhs of rupees, and abolish all duties ;
- (iv) If the Chiefs of the factories settle disputes between his people and those of the English, his own authority would be jeopardised ;
- (v) There is no necessity for a Resident to stay at his court ;
- (vi) 'Jagiri Sanads' can be granted for the assigned districts, only if the treaty makes it obligatory ;
- (vii) 'Sarrafis', or merchants are no one's servants, and cannot be forced to accept, or refuse any particular type of 'Sikkahs' ;
- (viii) The money collected by Muhammad Riza Khan at Chittagong has been paid to the Company ;
- (ix) His officers can be punished, only if the English agree to punish theirs ; and,
- (x) The Seths will have to reside, wherever the 'Nazam' lives.

(39) Amyatt and Hay to Calcutta, May 26, 1763.

(40) Ibid., and Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th June, 1763.

The Nawab's reply was thus tantamount to an unceremonious rejection of all the demands. By refusing (41) to consider these in a prudent and conciliatory spirit, the Nawab missed a golden opportunity for winning the goodwill of his opponents. The stubborn and unbending attitude which he maintained was ill-calculated to conciliate anyone, much less Amyatt and Hay. Some of their demands were neither very unjust nor excessive, and might have been gracefully acceded to. The presence of an English Resident at his court would not have been injurious to his interests. As for 'Jagiri Sanads,' it was really a formal affair. Again he would not have lost anything by allowing the English to coin three lakhs of rupees in his mints. As regards the commander who had been guilty of unprovoked violence at Gaya, the Nawab, in the interests of his own reputation, should have readily agreed to inquire into the matter. His demand that the English should first punish their own agents was merely petulant. If he had offered to punish all those insolent and high-handed officers who wilfully obstructed English trade, he would not only have given a convincing proof of his conciliatory spirit, but he would then have been justified in requesting the Council to punish the rapacious 'gumashtahs' who had been reported to have oppressed his people. The question of the duties might also have been tactfully handled, and the method proposed for the adjustment of quarrels between his dependents, and the English agents could have been suitably modified by a friendly discussion. In short, the Nawab might have, if he had so willed, laid the foundation of an enduring friendship with the Council by negotiating an amicable compromise with its representatives, but he showed neither foresight, nor diplomacy in his discussions with Amyatt and Hay, and completely alienated their sympathy by his unyielding attitude. The arguments with which he justified his refusal to comply with the wishes of the Council indicate only his petulance and stubbornness. Firstly, he contemptuously treated the demands as "unreasonable and foreign from former treaties and grants." (42) Secondly, he complained that Amyatt and Hay were not inclined to consider his own demands. (43) Thirdly, he sarcastically referred to the futility of "setting on foot once or twice every year a new treaty," (44) and refused to submit to a periodical revision of treaties. Fourthly he declared to Amyatt that new demands were being put forward every month only to invent an excuse for making war on him. (45) Lastly, he declined to negotiate when, as he wrote to Mr. Vansittart, ". . . the Chiefs of the factories are stretching out their hands against my honour and reputation." (46)

The failure of Amyatt's mission was regrettable indeed, and it is a pity

(41) From a letter, dated April 20 or 21, 1763, from the Nawab to Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khan it appears that the former believed he would have no power left, if he were to accept the demands of Amyatt and Hay! (vide Beng. Sel. Com. Jan. 31, 1765).

(42) Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., No. 46, p. 72.

(43) Trans. P.L.R., No. 49, p. 76.

(44) Trans. P.L.R., No. 50, p. 77.

(45) Trans. P.L.R., 1763, No. 23, p. 26.

(46) Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51, p. 80.

that it was mainly due to the Nawab's own obstinacy and tactlessness. Far from trying to reconcile matters, he provoked Amyatt and Hay during his conferences with them by his acrimonious complaints. Ghulam Husain, writing from personal knowledge, says, (47) " . . . at every meeting, the Nawab, whether by chance or otherwise, never failed to commit some action, or to be guilty of some gesture, which never failed to give offence . . . At last, the discontents ran so high that at one time Mr. Amyatt who had advanced as far as the door of the Nawab's apartment, returned back much displeased ; nor would he have been brought again, had not some of the Nawab's favourites run after him, and entreated his being pacified." The Nawab was under the influence of Gurgin Khan who constantly advised him not to yield to the demands of the Council. (48) Ali Ibrahim Khan who was the best friend of the Nawab vainly requested the latter not to alienate Amyatt at the instigation of Gurgin Khan. "If your princely mind be for peace, Mr. Amyatt's heart ought not to be estranged by action and words that derogate from the high character which our master bears," (49) so entreated Ali Ibrahim Khan, but to no effect. The Nawab persisted in haughtily rejecting the representations of Amyatt who wrote to the Council on June 14, "He continues to treat us with the greatest slight, and we almost daily meet with insults from his people." (50) It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Amyatt's mission failed to prevent the inevitable rupture between the Nawab and the English.

During Amyatt's stay at Monghyr certain incidents occurred which served to intensify Amyatt's estrangement from the Nawab. Almost immediately after his arrival at Monghyr, Amyatt had to complain that two gentlemen on their way to Patna had been insolently turned back (51) at Nawabganj, but the Nawab justified the action of his official on the ground that the gentlemen had been without a 'Dastak'. At Monghyr itself occurred an incident which shows to what extent the Nawab could be led away by mere suspicion. Two of the Company's people who had gone into the city at night on some private business of their own were arrested, and detained till the next morning. The Nawab wrote to Amyatt saying that they must have gone to pry into the condition of his army! (52) On another day, the 'Gumashtah' of an English gentleman was forcibly taken to the 'Cutcherry' where, without the semblance of a trial, he was beaten with shoes, and fined. The Nawab refused to take any notice of it in spite of Amyatt's immediate complaint. (53) The matters appeared to be very serious indeed, when one morning (54) three gentlemen who had gone out for a pleasure ride were rudely stopped, and compelled to go back. On their refusal to

(47) Raymond's translation of *Siyar*, Cal Reprint, II, p. 462. (Vide Text, p. 723).

(48) *Siyar*, p. 724.

(49) Raymond's translation of *Siyar*, II, p. 464 and Text, p. 724.

(50) *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, June 23, 1763.

(51) *Trans. P.L.R.*, Apl.-June, 1763, No. 9, p. 7.

(52) *Trans. P.L.R.*, 1763, No. 19, p. 17.

(53) *Trans. P.L.R. Apl.-June*, 1765, No. 15, p. 15.

(54) *Siyar*, p. 724, *Trans. P.L.R.*, 1763, No. 27, p. 30.

comply with the order, the guards threatened to fire, and gratuitously insulted them in indecent language when the gentlemen decided to go back. The Nawab not only refused to punish his insolent guards, but blamed the gentlemen for having needlessly approached his quarters, and declared that as the English always attempted to bring his government into contempt, he would never give any satisfaction for this insult to the aforesaid gentlemen. Such defiance on the part of the Nawab at a time when patience, moderation, and tact alone could have averted a crisis was most inopportune and thoughtless.

In the meanwhile, the Nawab had committed an act which was rightly interpreted by the Council as one of open hostility. (55) On May 25, six boats laden with muskets for Patna were detained (56) at the instance of Gurgin Khan. (57) The Nawab refused to release them in spite of every representation made by Amyatt and Hay, and defended his highhanded action on a number of grounds. In the first place, he protested against the secret despatch of arms saying, "Openly to deny sending any military stores, and secretly to send them in this manner, what can it mean?" (58) This argument is hardly justified when it is known that neither Amyatt, nor the Governor had ever promised that no military stores would be sent to Patna. In the second place, the Nawab offered the excuse that the English had also seized his 'amilis' (59) but this was no justification for the deliberate detention of the Company's property in such a high-handed fashion. In the third place, the Nawab complained that Ellis was daily causing disturbances, and "every day keeps his forces in readiness, and creates troubles and quarrels with my people." (60) In short, the Nawab suspected that the arms were intended to be used in capturing Patna. Ali Ibrahim Khan rightly protested that "if peace was in contemplation, there was no colour for stopping the boat, and if hostilities were in view, then he saw no great harm in adding five hundred more muskets to the two thousand already in the English factory." (61) "For if we can fight against two thousand", he remonstrated with the Nawab, "I dare say, we can as well fight against two thousand five hundred." But, the Nawab was obdurate, and he paid no heed to the sincere advice of his friend. The seizure of the boats was not only an ill-advised step, but it amounted to almost a declaration of war. Even his best supporters, Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings, were constrained to admit this. (62)

While the boats were being thus detained, the Nawab insisted on the removal of the Company's troops from Patna. He refused to release the

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(55) Beng. Pub. Cons., June 9, 1763.

(56) Amyatt and Hay to Calcutta, May 26, 1763.

(57) *Siyar*, p. 724.

(58) *Trans. P.L.R.*, (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 49, p. 76.

(59) Amyatt and Hay to Calcutta, May 31, 1763.

(60) *Trans. P.L.R.*, (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 49, p. 76.

(61) Raymond's Translation of *Siyar*, II, p. 465 (*vide Text*), p. 724.

(62) Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th and 10th June, 1763.

boats, unless the forces were immediately withdrawn from Patna. It appears that the Nawab had always scented danger from the Company's troops in Bihar. The arrival of the boats offered him a good pretext for demanding their removal. The reasons given by him were highly exaggerated as usual. He informed Amyatt and Hay that he could never have any confidence in the English, unless the detachment at Patna was removed to Calcutta, or Monghyr. (63) To the Governor, he complained that the troops at Patna "create continual disturbances and quarrels with my people, and daily leave a fresh root of disaffection," and that the behaviour of the Company's troops was such as led the people to believe "that there is no longer a friendship and union between us." (64) He again wrote to the Governor on May 26, "I have no objection to two, or three hundred Englishmen remaining at Patna, but to keep up such a force with Mr. Ellis, to ruin my affairs, is very improper. (65) In his letter, dated June 19, the Nawab declared, "Mr. Ellis is my professed enemy ; and for these two years has created disturbance leaving unattempted no means to ruin my affairs." (66) The Nawab pretended to ask for the withdrawal of the forces on the above grounds, but it is certain that the object he really aimed at was to wipe out all vestiges of his subjection to the English. The troops had been stationed at Patna at his own request, (67) and, there was no immediate necessity for their sudden recall. They might be removed to Monghyr, but it was not practicable immediately ; besides the Nawab could not really have insisted on it, as he had his own troops at Monghyr. His design was simply to get the troops withdrawn from Patna so that the power of the English in the country might be completely undermined. It was only when the Council decided against (68) the withdrawal of the troops that the Nawab made a fresh demand that at least Ellis should be superseded by anybody else, preferably McGuire, or Hastings, or even Amyatt. (69) He also released the boats on June 19, (70) but, what it is extremely significant, he offered to purchase (71) the muskets.

The negotiations between Amyatt and the Nawab had in the meantime come to a standstill, as the latter's attitude was definitely hostile. The Nawab had by now actually decided upon hostilities, (72) and so he treated Amyatt and Hay virtually as prisoners, (73) and determined to keep them as hostages. (74) The latter had so far been subjected to all sorts of indignities, and insults, but on June 20 the boats were again seized, and their camp was surrounded by a body of horse all night. (75) It was impossible to stay

(63) Amyatt and Hay to Calcutta, May 29, 1763.

(64) Trans. P.L.R. (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 46, p. 72.

(65) Ibid., No. 49, p. 76 ; Narrative, III, p. 242.

(66) Trans. P.L.R., (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 50, p. 77.

(67) Trans., P.L.R., 1762-63, No. 57, p. 59.

(68) Beng., Pub., Cons., June 9, 1763.

(69) Trans. P.L.R., (Jan.-Sept.), 1763, No. 50, p. 77.

(70) Amyatt and Hay to Calcutta, June 19, 1763.

(71) Narrative III, p. 303.

(72) Siyar, p. 725.

(73) Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th July 1763.

(74) Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, p. 611).

(75) Amyatt to Ellis, June 22, 1763 (from his letter-books found at Murshidabad).



after this, and Amyatt resolved to return to Calcutta. He had waited for more than a month, but in vain. The Nawab was determined not to satisfy any of his demands. (76) Amyatt was convinced by the latter's hostile attitude that a rupture was unavoidable. (77) Under these circumstances, there was no other alternative but to take leave of the Nawab as early as possible, but the latter was bent upon detaining Hay as a hostage for his own officers seized by the English. (78) As Hay agreed (79) to remain at Monghyr, Amyatt and his party left on June 24, (80) provided with a passport granted by the Nawab. (81)

The next morning Ellis attacked and seized Patna, and the war thus commenced. This was apparently sufficient to convince the Nawab that Amyatt must have secretly instructed Ellis to begin the hostilities. In fact, the Nawab believed the capture of Patna to have been brought about at the instance of Amyatt. (82) It is, therefore, easy to account for his umbrage at the alleged treachery of the latter. It is clear from contemporary evidence that Amyatt and his party were massacred under the Nawab's own orders, although subsequently he denied having issued orders for their murder. The details of Amyatt's murder are obscure. (83) The facts appear to be as follows: (84) No sooner had the Nawab heard of the recapture of Patna by his troops than he issued orders to Muhammad Taqi Khan who was then encamped near Murshidabad to intercept Amyatt and his party. Muhammad Taqi Khan wanted to capture the party by a stratagem, and invited Amyatt to an entertainment. On the latter's repeated refusal to come to the shore, the boatsmen were ordered to stop. Thereupon, Amyatt's party opened fire in self-defence, but were ultimately overpowered by the Nawab's people who boarded the boats, and slaughtered them mercilessly. This occurred on July 3, 1763. (85) Amyatt's head was sent to Monghyr for the Nawab's satisfaction. (86) Thus ended the ill-fated mission to Mir Qasim!

NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A.

(76) Muzaffar-namah, Alld. Univ. MS., p. 337.

(77) Narrative III, pp. 272-73 and 295 (Vide letters from Amyatt and Hay received on 13th, 17th and 23rd June).

(78) Beng. Pub. Cons., June 23rd, 1763.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Amyatt to Ellis, 22nd June (from his letter-books found at Murshidabad) Diary of Surgeon Peter Campbell, June 24.

(81) Amyatt's letter, dated 30th June, Beng. Pub. Cons., 5th July, 1763.

(82) Siyar, p. 725; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 787; Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, 611).

(83) For details vide the following authorities: Siyar, p. 727. Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S., V, 613). Muzaffar-Namah, p. 343. Raymond's footnote to his translation of Siyar, Vol. II, 476. Diary of Surgeon Anderson, August 11, and also Gentil's Memoirs Raymond's account based as it is on the report of actual eye-witnesses may be accepted as the correct version.

(84) Raymond's version is fully corroborated by Muzaffar-Namah, p. 343, vide also Riyazu-s-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 382.

(85) Letter from T. Motte, dated Kewganj, 4th July, 1763, to Mr. Johnstone (Beng. Pub. cons., 7th July, 1763) "18th Zilhadji, 1176," according to Siyar, pp. 727-28.

(86) Siyar, p. 727. Diary of Surgeon Anderson, August 6.

## The Revolt in Kashmir, 1846.

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*"It would be no unpleasant theme to dilate on the Kashmir Campaign, on the extraordinary fact, never before witnessed, of half a dozen foreigners taking up a lately subdued mutinous army through as difficult a country as is in the world to put the chief, formerly their commander, now in their minds a rebel, in possession of the brightest gem of their land. Roman History tells no such tales, shows no such instantaneous fellowship of the vanquished with the victors."*

By the terms of the Treaty, which in March, 1846, closed the First Sikh War, amongst other things, the Sikhs ceded to the British all the hill country between the rivers Beas and Indus, "including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara ;" (1) and "in consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh, of Jammu, to the Lahore State towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments," the British agreed to recognise "the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh, by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh" ; further the British Government, "in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh," agreed "to recognise his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government."

A week later, on March 16, 1846, was signed this separate Treaty (2) with Gulab Singh, by which the British Government "transferred and made over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly and mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahoul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State." In consideration of this transfer Gulab Singh was to pay the British Government seventy-five lacs of rupees (*Nanakshahi*), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of the Treaty, and twenty-

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(1) The Lahore Government being unable to pay the one-and-a-half crores of rupees as an indemnity for the expenses of war, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment, the Maharaja ceded to the Honourable Company, as an equivalent for one crore, his possessions in the hill countries between the Beas and the Indus including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara, engaging to pay the remaining fifty lacs on or before the ratification of the Treaty—*vide Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore, on March 9th, 1846.*

(2) *Vide Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on March 16th, 1846.*

five lacs on or before October 1, 1846, and in token of the supremacy of the British Government, was "to present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl-goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls." He further engaged "to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions"; and on their part the British Government engaged "to give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies."

Thus it was that Gulab Singh, the great grandfather of the present Maharaja, became the ruler of Kashmir. But he did not acquire actual possession of his new province without much difficulty.

*The Revolt of Shaikh Imam-ud-din, Governor of Kashmir.*

One can easily imagine the jealousy which would be felt by a power at giving over, "in sackcloth and ashes", a rich tract of its territory to one who, only lately, was a subject of its own—a powerful subject, all but independent, but still a subject acknowledging, perhaps, a more perfect allegiance than he paid. Then began intrigues, month after month passed away and still Gulab Singh was not in possession of Kashmir. We shall examine concisely the cause of this.

Kashmir was annexed to the Sikh dominions in 1819, and had thenceforward been administered by Governors from Lahore who were frequently changed. In 1846, the Sikh Governor, in charge of Kashmir affairs, was one Shaikh Imam-ud-din, who is thus described by a contemporary writer :

"The Shaikh is, perhaps, the best mannered and best dressed man in the Panjab. He is rather under than above the middle height ; but his figure is exquisite, as far as it goes, and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmir could achieve for the Governor of the Province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect Courtier, whose taste is too good to be obsequious ; his great natural intelligence and an unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers ; and his Persian idiom would do no dishonour to a native of Shiraz. Beneath this smooth surface of accomplishment and courtesy lies an ill-assorted and incongruous disposition : ambition, pride, cruelty and intrigue, strangely mixed up with indolence, effeminacy, voluptuousness and timidity. From such *pluses* and *minuses* what result can be expected but a moral cypher?" (3)

Deeply engaged in the intrigues and revolutions of Lahore, Shaikh Imam-ud-din was never to be found at any crisis and so completely were all his aspirations negated by indecision, that he spent the six months of his Kashmir government in wavering between three different schemes for his own personal aggrandisement : doubtful whether to accept Gulab Singh's offer, and continue Governor on a salary of one lac per annum ; to oppose the transfer of the Province to that Prince, which Raja Lal Singh told him should be a receipt in full for his Kashmir accounts ; or to try to buy over

(3) Herbert Edwardes's "*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*," Volume II, p. 72.

the British, and make himself independent sovereign of the loveliest valley in the world. We shall see presently that he chose the most senseless of the three ; and to save himself from the consequences, on the first appearance of danger, he turned "King's evidence," and sacrificed his accomplice.

In his choice he was urged, it is said, by the influence of a wife, the daughter of the Khan of Kohistan, "proud of her kin and blood," and bigoted in her Mohammedan faith.(4) Imam-ud-din with the aid of feudatories took up arms to oppose the entry of Gulab Singh, and his troops obtained some advantages. Gulab Singh could not himself drive the recalcitrant Shaikh out by force of arms and the British Government had to intervene and coercive measures were resorted to. Without an hour's hesitation, the Governor-General declared that the clause of the Treaty of Lahore by which Kashmir was to be transferred to Gulab Singh must be enforced and "that the British Government would give every possible support to the Maharaja Gulab Singh in compelling the servant of the Darbar, the Shaikh Imam-ud-din to evacuate Kashmir, holding the Darbar responsible for the acts of their officers, in this gross violation of the Treaty."(5)

The Lahore Darbar was asked to place at Maharaja Gulab Singh's disposal from one-half to two-thirds of the force at any or all of the stations between the Ravi and the Attock and to desire their Officers Commanding within that tract instantly, on receipt of the Maharaja's requisition, to move on such points as he might desire and to act on his instructions.(6) The Darbar was further instructed to proclaim to their border subjects that the property of persons taking up arms against Maharaja Gulab Singh would be confiscated.(7) The Maharaja was advised to combine mercy with energy in coercing the rebels and to offer an amnesty for submission up to a certain date.(8)

In the meantime a letter was addressed to the Sikh officers and soldiers in Kashmir, informing them that an English army had been ordered to support the Maharaja.(9) "I warn you" wrote Henry Lawrence, "that if on receipt of this order you separate from the Shaikh and return to the Panjab, your lives will be spared and your arrears will be paid"(10)

The Governor-General on September 15, 1846, ordered six Regiments of Native Infantry, two Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, and twelve Field

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Panjab Government Records. Press List, Volume IX, Serial No. 217, dated Simla, the 25th September, 1846. From Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to H. M. Lawrence, Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier.

(6) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 193, dated the 12th September, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 899, dated the 15th September, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to Lieut. H. B. Edwardes, on deputation to Jammu.

(9) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 439, dated the 24th September, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to the Sikh officers and soldiers in Kashmir.

(10) *Ibid.*

Guns, under Brigadier Wheeler, commanding the Jullundur Doab, to be held in readiness to move fully equipped for field service from Jullundur towards Jammu, for the purpose of protecting the Maharaja's rear in his absence.(11)

The Maharaja did not wish British troops to go to Kashmir but was anxious that they should hold Nowshera (above Bhimbar) for him for the double reason, that it was a troublesome country, and, that by so forward a movement, people might be led to suppose that they would advance into Kashmir.(12)

Accordingly, the Governor-General on September 22, 1846, addressed the Commander-in-Chief, requesting him that the Brigadier might be ordered to advance.(13) "The object of the movement," the Governor-General wrote, "is to enable Maharaja Gulab Singh to move all his disposable forces on Kashmir, by protecting his rear from the confines of our frontier up to Jammu, a distance probably of between 60 and 70 miles, in the country between the Ravi and Chenab rivers at the foot of the hills which divide the Maharaja's territory from the plains.(14)

The troops selected by the Lahore Darbar for the Kashmir expedition were :—

Under Sardar Sher Singh—his own troops, the Kohistani (Mountaineers), about 5,000 in number ; four guns.

Under General Doab Singh—two regiments.

Under General Kahan Singh—two regiments.

Lahore troops, under General Imam Singh—two regiments ; two guns.

Moreover ten other guns and all necessary munitions were got ready at Lahore under the direction of Captain Brind. Various officers were despatched to collect carriage and supplies in Rawalpindi, Jhang, etc.(15)

And then was seen the very remarkable spectacle of the British Agent marching at the head of the Sikh troops, supported by British forces, to wrest Sikh territory from Imam-ud-Din in order to hand it over to the last of those Rajput brothers, who had always inspired the Sikhs themselves with intense jealousy.

These vigorous measures had the desired effect of showing not only to

(11) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 200, dated the 17th September, 1846. From the Adjutant-General of the army to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

(12) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 213, dated the 24th September, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

(13) Panjab Government Records, Press List Vol. IX, Serial No. 205, dated the 22nd September, 1846. From the Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 237, dated the 29th September, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie. At the request of Dewan Jowala Sahae (Maharaja Gulab Singh's *Vakil*) the following officers were asked to go with the Sikh troops to Kashmir :—Sardars Tej Singh, Sher Singh and Mangal Singh ; Generals Kahan Singh, Lal Singh Moraria, Amir Chand Topi, and Cortlandt, and Colonels Khan Ali, Khan Gobarchi and Gardana—*Ibid.*

Gulab Singh, but also to the Shaikh in Kashmir, and the *Vazir* in Lahore, that no difficulties which could be created by hostile combinations, or intrigues, would be allowed to stand in the way of carrying out the Treaty. The very first fruits were the revelation of Raja Lal Singh's treachery. No sooner did Puran Chand, the Shaikh's *Vakil*, find that the British were in earnest, than with admirable decision he chose his side, and determined to save his master by throwing Raja Lal Singh overboard.

### THE SURRENDER OF SHAIKH IMAM-UD-DIN.

Lieut. H. B. Edwardes, the Assistant Political Agent, who had been deputed by the Governor-General to keep Government informed about the proceedings in Kohistan and Kashmir and to advise Maharaja Gulab Singh 'at the present juncture,' (16) reporting the substance of conversations he had held with Puran Chand, the Shaikh's *Vakil*, in a letter dated the 17th September, 1846, observed that the *Vakil*, repeatedly asserted that his master, the Shaikh, had been secretly instigated in his resistance to Maharaja Gulab Singh in Kashmir, by communications sent to him by the *Vazir*, Raja Lal Singh, and that the Shaikh possessed letters to that effect written by his *Vakil* and signed by Raja Lal Singh at Lahore. (17)

"If these suspicious circumstances shall subsequently be verified," wrote F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence, "Lieut. Edwardes may assure the Shaikh that if he (as his *Vakil* declares, he can) does prove the truth of the *Vakil's* declarations, the British Government will visit the offence of a Lahore servant, acting under the orders of his Government upon that Government, and not upon him, and will ensure his personal safety, if without further resistance he abandons his desperate enterprise and delivers himself up to the British Political Agent." (18)

Negotiations were then opened between Lieut. Edwardes and Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, and the latter expressed his willingness to evacuate the valley and come over to Lahore but he was afraid that his Jullundur Jagirs would be confiscated and that he would be charged for the arrears of his troops. Hence he wavered and sought assurances before he finally gave up. (19) He was assured that if he left Kashmir immediately with the property he possessed, either with or without his troops, his life would be spared and his

(16) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 878, dated the 4th September, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to Lieut. Edwardes.

(17) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 217, dated Simla, the 25th September, 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence. It must be noted here that the *Vazir*, Raja Lal Singh, up to this time had by public letters and assurances led the Agent of British Government to believe that he was taking every measure in his power to cause the Shaikh to withdraw from Kashmir.—*Ibid*.

(18) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 217, dated Simla, the 25th September, 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

(19) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 1156, dated the 30th September, 1846. From John Lawrence, officiating Agent at Lahore, to F. Currie.

past conduct forgiven, and that if he could prove that he had resisted at the instigation of the Lahore authorities, he would retain his property and would be exempted from rendering any account to the Darbar. (20) But he was told that his *Jagirs* in Jullundur could not be restored, for as a resident in the British territory and as a *Jagirdar* under the British Government he had disobeyed its orders. (21) This caused the Shaikh to pause.

On October 6, the Adjutant-General of the Army ordered Col. Reed, commanding at Ferozepur, to march Her Majesty's 62nd Regiment, three regiments of Native Infantry, two regiments of cavalry and twelve guns on to Lahore. (22) Major-General Sir John Littler was ordered to move Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, three regiments of Native Infantry and twelve guns on to Sailkot. (23) Lieut. Lumsden was to join the Sikh troops, which had already left Lahore, at Rajourie, lest they should halt short of their destination. (24) On October 11, Brigadier Wheeler was ordered to move the forces under his command so far as Bhimbar, but was instructed on no account to proceed beyond that. (25) He, however, received instructions from General Littler, on October 19, ordering him to cross with his forces to the right bank of the Chenab, (26) the forces under Littler being stationed on the left bank ready in 24 hours to form a junction with Brigadier Wheeler to advance on Bhimbar or Nowshera, whenever required to do so.

This mobilisation of troops further proved to the Shaikh, the hopelessness of his resisting any longer, and detached from him some of his most valuable adherents.

Reports now, from different quarters, confirmed the news that the Shaikh was yielding to the persuasions of the deputies and had made preparations for his departure to Lahore. (27) Puran Chand and Fateh Khan arrived in Kashmir on October 1, and delivered the written pledge of Lieut. Edwardes to Imam-ud-Din. No sooner had the Shaikh read this encouraging letter, than

(20) *Ibid.*

(21) "Lieut. Edwardes will not encourage the Shaikh to believe, because the British Government do not visit upon him offences committed by him, in consequence of orders received from his own Government, that he is to be reinstated in his *Jagirs* and property in Jullundur. The Shaikh must be aware that he holds that property as a subject of the Company and is consequently responsible so far to the British Government that by acting in defiance of their injunctions and in violation of a Treaty he has justly subjected himself to the penalties which have already been ordered to be inflicted by the preliminary act of attaching all his property within their territory." Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 217, dated Simla, the 25th September, 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

(22) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 950, dated 11th October, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to Brigadier Reed, Commanding at Ferozepur.

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 259, dated the 7th October, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

(25) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 951, dated the 11th October, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to Brigadier Wheeler, Commanding Field Forces.

(26) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 982, dated the 19th October, 1846. From Sir John Littler, Commanding the Panjab Division, to H. M. Lawrence.

(27) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 1132, dated the 10th October, 1846. From Lieut. Edwardes to H. M. Lawrence.

trusting entirely to the leniency and generosity of the British Government he raised the siege of Hari Parbat ; called in his men to their respective camps, exhorted the Kings of the Kohistan to put down the rebellious spirit they had raised and set himself to work in earnest to write similar orders to every part of the country, (28) Maharaja Gulab Singh's servants imprisoned in Kashmir were released and Mirza Faqir Ullah was ordered to set free those in confinement at Rajourie. (29)

Before leaving Kashmir, Imam-ud-Din wanted still to make sure of the action the British Government would take against him. So he sent Fateh Khan and Puran Chand and two of his confidential agents, Rattan Chand and Mirza Ahmed, with a letter to Lieut. Edwardes, whom they met at Seyouth, ten *kos* from Rajourie on October 15. (30) Edwardes had already promised to meet the Shaikh on his way to Lahore. Imam-ud-Din requested him to come up to Bairamgulli, Edwardes offered to meet him at Thana, 8 or 9 miles from Rajourie, and wrote to him that the British Government would not interfere with his Kashmir property, nor allow the Lahore Darbar to call him to account, if he could prove the complicity of the Lahore Darbar in the rebellion. (31) Arrangements would also be made to save any possibility of a collision between Imam-ud-Din's troops issuing from Kashmir and the Maharaja's and the Sikh forces marching into the valley.

In the meanwhile, on October 12, Mirza Faqir Ullah of Rajourie, the mainstay and ally of Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, had written a humble letter of

(28) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 1132, dated the 10th October, 1846. From Lieut. H. B. Edwardes to H. M. Lawrence.

(29) On October 23, 1846, the Governor-General informed the Secret Committee that "Shaikh Imam-ud-Din has put a stop to all hostile operations against the Fort of Hari Parbat, occupied by the Maharaja's troops; he has formerly declared his submission to the Lahore Government and his intention of surrendering himself to Lieut. Edwardes who is accompanying the troops of Maharaja Gulab Singh." Parliamentary Papers (1844-47).

(30) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 1133, dated Camp, Seyouth, (10 *Kos* from Rajourie) the 15th October, 1846. From Lieut. Edwards to H. M. Lawrence.

(31) This particular promise of Lieut. Edwardes gave rise to controversy. F. Currie writing to H. M. Lawrence, in a letter dated Simla, the 12th October, 1846, observed: "His Lordship does not think that he (Lieut. Edwardes) was warranted in promising to Shaikh Imam-ud-Din that, under any circumstances, we would interfere to prevent the Lahore Government from demanding from him a settlement of the accounts of his administration for the period that the province has been under his management. This is a question with which we can have no concern. The Governor-General observes, moreover, that this promise of indemnity from the Government demand and settlement of the accounts of his Revenue administration is made in the event of his proving the delinquency of Raja Lal Singh—but the misconduct and underhand intrigue of Raja Lal Singh (assuming it to be capable of proof) may not necessarily involve the Lahore Government, itself, and the redemption of Lieut. Edwardes' promise to hold Shaikh Imam-ud-Din free from all claim by the Government on account of his long administration (notoriously a most dishonest one in the matter of rendering accounts) may be found embarrassing." Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 269.

The Governor-General, however, agreed to "maintain the terms and conditions offered by Lieut. Edwardes to Shaikh Imam-ud-Din as far as possible, if he shall establish satisfactorily the facts upon which these promises were founded and upon the establishment of which the conditions rest." Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 326, dated the 2nd November, 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.



submission to Edwards, wherein he declared his readiness to submit as soon as the latter reached the Rajourie border.

The Mirza wrote another letter to the Maharaja's Moulvi, offering to submit provided the Moulvi got him "the Maharaja's necklace as a pledge of good faith." Taking on himself the responsibility of his safety, Edwardes asked Faqir Ullah to come at once and the Maharaja too agreed to the request of the Mirza. On October 18, at 10 A.M., attended by about thirty followers, this master mechanic of the Shaikh's plans, the firebrand of the rebellion, the 'Lord and leader' of the insurgents and the deadly enemy of His Highness came and made his submission to Maharaja Gulab Singh (32).

The army still advanced, and had reached the fort at the Bairamgulli Pass into Kashmir.

Soon it was reported that the Shaikh was preparing to depart, having promised to start on the 9th Katik 1803 (October 23, 1846). He hoped and also believed that no crime would be "proved against him." "The British had ordered him to leave and leave he would," he gave out, "he would not stay another moment in that place, though he should be forced in consequence to halt a day or two on the road to collect coolies".(33) On October 23, the Shaikh finally communicated, "I have this day departed from the city of Kashmir, though my preparations for the march were far from complete" (34).

He proceeded about three miles from the city where it took him a day or two to complete his arrangements. He wrote to Maharaja Gulab Singh, "My Lord, I have ever been your servant and son. The reply which you sent to my humble epistle has inspired me with confidence. May God keep you on your throne to all eternity! You tell me to come and make my submission. I am honoured by receiving your commands and I hasten to obey them. . . . You have taken me by the hand, now deal with me as you think I deserve. . . . My good and bad qualities I have confided to you. It is for you to estimate the sum of them" (35). Leaving the valley on October 25, and proceeding *via* Shopian the Shaikh, worn out with a forced mountain-march of forty miles, in the course of which he had been drenched in a snow-storm, reached Bairamgulli on October 31. Surrounded by his officers made his submission to Lieut. Edwardes, who on the following day, conducted him to the camp of Henry Lawrence at Thana, the latter having a few days earlier come up with the army. On the next day the forces under

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(32) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 1134, dated the 18th October, 1846. From Lieut. Edwardes to H. M. Lawrence.

This event was not only valuable as a key to the intention of Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, but also with reference to the effect it was likely to produce on the Kohistan and the countries at the foot of the hills, throughout which his name was celebrated for enterprising courage and deadly enmity to Maharaja Gulab Singh.—*Ibid*.

(33) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 443, dated the 28th September, 1846. From Malik Fateh Khan and Rattan Chand to Lieut. Edwardes.

(34) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 444, dated the 23rd October, 1846 or 9th Katik 1803. From Shaikh Imam-ud-Din to Lieut. Edwardes.

(35) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 446, dated the 23rd October, 1846. From Shaikh Imam-ud-Din to Maharaja Gulab Singh.

the command of Major-General Sir John Littler were ordered to withdraw and Brigadier Wheeler's soon followed (36). Thus ended this bloodless rebellion.

Maharaja Gulab Singh entered the city of Kashmir about 8 A.M. on November 9, 1846, (it had been declared the auspicious time by the astrologers) and found his *sowars* in entire possession of the place ; Sardar Sujan Singh, with the garrison of Shergurhi, about 3,000 men, and the family of Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, having moved off two days previously. To avoid their line of march, the Maharaja made a detour on his road from Shopian, and fell in with Henry Lawrence at Pampur on the evening of the 8th. It was thought that His Highness would prefer entering his capital by himself, and therefore he was given the opportunity of doing so, but the meeting at Pampur led the British Agent to imagine that the Maharaja was willing to sink his dignity in the increased opinion of the British support that his formal accompaniment would afford His Highness (37).

Maharaja Gulab Singh having been established in power, Henry Lawrence, "with his usual energy" as Lord Hardinge describes it, returned at once to Lahore (38). The next thing to be done was to bring Raja Lal Singh to solemn trial and exposure before all the Sikh Chiefs, for secretly instigating Shaikh Imam-ud-Din in the treacherous opposition to Gulab Singh ; the defeated Shaikh, having turned "King's evidence" against his late accomplice. He placed in Henry Lawrence's hand at Thana, three original documents, purporting to be instructions from Lal Singh to the Shaikh to oppose Gulab Singh ; and to the officers and soldiers in Kashmir, to be faithful and obedient to the orders of the Shaikh. These papers were put in as evidence at the subsequent trial of Raja Lal Singh for his complicity in this affair.

It would not be out of place here, before we close, to review the more striking features of this Kashmir expedition.

One cannot help noticing here that the Sikh troops, who had only very recently fought against the British under the same officers who now led them, unwilling as they were in their hearts to support Gulab Singh, whom the Khalsa hated thoroughly, acted admirably in these operations, and thus drew warm commendations from Lord Hardinge (39). Moreover, these operations afforded to the Sikh troops an opportunity of manifesting the improved state

(36) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 1001, dated the 2nd November, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to Sir John Littler.

(37) Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 335, dated the city of Kashmir, the 12th November, 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

(38) The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated the 4th December, 1846. Parliamentary Papers (1844-47).

(39) The Governor-General writing to the Secret Committee from Camp Nairae, on November 21, 1846, remarks "The conduct of the Sikh troops, under the same officers that led them so lately in their invasion of our provinces, now employed in carrying out the conditions of the Treaty of Lahore, (and perhaps the least palatable part of those conditions) under the instructions of British officers cannot but command your admiration." Parliamentary Papers (1844-47).

of their temper and discipline, by the alacrity with which they obeyed the order they received at Lahore, and the cheerfulness and patience with which they endured the privations of scanty supplies and long marches in a mountainous country. This service had been performed on the requisition of the British Government. "His Lordship," writes F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence, "will be much gratified by having the opportunity of acknowledging the services rendered in so admirable a manner by an army whose military qualities were last year experienced in the field on the banks of the Sutlej—and this year have been displayed in maintaining by the most zealous co-operation with the British forces and those of Maharaja Gulab Singh, an important article of the Treaty of Lahore, the violation of which was threatened by Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, employed by the Lahore Darbar in the Government of Kashmir" (40).

Properly considered this feat of compelling the culpable Lahore Darbar, with its chief conspirator, Raja Lal Singh, at its head, to make over, in the most marked and humiliating manner, the richest province in the Panjab to the one man most detested by the Khalsa, was the real victory of the campaign; and its achievement must continue an enigma to every one who remembers that it was performed by 10,000 Sikh soldiers at the bidding and under the guidance of two or three British officers within eight months of the battle of Sobraon.

This conjuncture was described by Henry Lawrence in a letter to Kaye (published in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, Volume II, page 298) as—"that ticklish occasion when I took the Sikh army to Kashmir, and when I was obliged to tell Lal Singh's Vakil that if anything happened to me, John Lawrence was told to put the Raja (Lal Singh) in confinement. The fact was, I knew he was acting treacherously, but trusted to carrying the thing through by expedition, and by the conviction that the British army was in our rear to support and avenge us."

R. R. SETHI.

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(40) Panjab Government Records, Press List IX, Serial No. 332, dated the 9th November, 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

# Nawab Alivardi's Perwanah for Regulating the Custom Duties on the Company's Trade in Bengal.

SINCE publishing my paper on 'History of the East India Company's trade in the time of Alivardi' (Calcutta Review, August, 1932), my study of Bengal Letters to the Court of Directors, preserved in the Imperial Records Department, Calcutta, has supplied me with the following new points about the regulation of '*chowkey*' (customs house) duties on the Company's trade within the Nawab's Kingdom.

The customs officers very often exacted more than the usual dues. This is clear from the following list (1) of *dustories* (2) taken at the several ghats (3) belonging to the 'Putchelrah' (?) :—

| Places.                                                                                                                                                      | What agreed<br>to take |      | What actually<br>taken. |     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|------|-------------------------|-----|
|                                                                                                                                                              | Rs.                    | As.  | Rs.                     | As. |
| Aurangabad (in the Murshidabad district, 31 miles S. E. of Rajmahal)                                                                                         | ...                    | 4 0  | 6                       | 0   |
| Burragoreah (Geriah near Rajmahal in the Santal Paraganas) ...                                                                                               | ...                    | 1 0  | 10                      | 0   |
| Godagari (on the Padma River in Rajsahi District) ...                                                                                                        | ...                    | 2 0  | 7                       | 0   |
| Moorchah (Rennel's Murcha on the Cossimbazar Rampur-Boalia Road)                                                                                             | ...                    | 3 0  | 7                       | 0   |
| Jellengy (Jellinghee) (situated at the point where the river Jellinghee parts from the Padma distance E. from Berhampore 25 miles, N. from Calcutta 105) ... | ...                    | 3 10 | 14                      | 0   |
| Butsolah ...                                                                                                                                                 | ...                    | 3 6  | 14                      | 0   |
| Seberampore ...                                                                                                                                              | ...                    | 2 0  | 13                      | 0   |
| Lullydangah ...                                                                                                                                              | ...                    | 1 0  | 8                       | 0   |

(1) Letter to Court, dated 21st February, 1756.

(2) "A fee, a perquisite, a commission; especially a fee claimed by cashiers and servants on articles purchased, or on payments made". Wilson's Glossary, p. 129.

(3) "A landing place, steps on the bank of a river, a quay, a wharf where customs are commonly levied". *Ibid*, p. 175.

| Places.                                                                                                                                                                | What agreed<br>to take | What actually<br>taken. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Buxypore (There is one Buxipur in<br>the Nadia district, 30 miles north<br>of Kishnugur and another in the<br>district of Jessore 46 miles N. W.<br>of Jessore) ... .. | ... 1 0                | 7 0                     |
| Bowley ... ..                                                                                                                                                          | ... 0 8                | 7 0                     |
| Turmohanny (perhaps refers to<br>Tirmohani near Dhulian in the<br>Murshidabad district) ... ..                                                                         | ... 0 8                | 6 0                     |
| Surdah (in the Rajsahi district) ... ..                                                                                                                                | ... 2 0                | 10 0                    |
| Nazerpore (in the Maldah district) ... ..                                                                                                                              | ... 1 0                | 7 0                     |
| Custeah (Kustiah) ... ..                                                                                                                                               | ... 0 8                | 5 0                     |
| Aukdunk ... ..                                                                                                                                                         | ... 0 8                | 3 0                     |
|                                                                                                                                                                        | Rs. 26 0               | Rs. 123 0               |

"The chowkeys planted up and down the country" made the members of the Council in Calcutta repeat their "complaints to the (Nawab's) Durbar of their Impositions and exactions" (4). At length the gentlemen at the Cassimbazar Factory "obtained an ample Perwannah both from the Great (Alivardi) and Chuta Nabob (probably refer to deputy-governors) directed to all Subahs, Rajas, Zemindars forbidding them on pain of their highest displeasure to molest or detain any conveyances with the English Dustucks on any pretence whatever" (5). This perwanah was "so strongly worded" that the Company was "in great hopes that it will prevent any interruptions or Exactions from those chowkeys in time to come" (6).

But Mr. Watts, chief of the Cassimbazar factory, wrote to Messrs. R. Drake and C. Manningham on 21st December, 1755 "stating that the extortions practised at the chaukis cannot be stopped unless a present is given to the (Nawab's) Prime Minister Hakim Beg and explaining why such a present will be of advantage to the Company's trade" (7). They replied to him on 7th December, 1755, "enquiring whether it is possible to have the alterations suggested by them made in the dastak for free trade to the Company which will have to be obtained from Hakim Beg and whether it could be ascertained that the present to be given for obtaining the dastak was not be regarded as precedent" (8). Mr. Watts replied on 6th January, 1756, "stating the discussion he had concerning the alterations proposed by the latter in the dastak mentioned above, and intimating that the present

(4) Letter to Court, dated 8th December, 1755, para. 96.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Quoted in Letter to Court, dated 21st February, 1756.

(8) Quoted in *Ibid.*

given for obtaining it cannot become a precedent", but he noted at the same time that "little reliance can be placed on the assurances of Hakim Beg" (9).

We find that the Nawab took the following step for removing the complaints of the Company:—"Dustuck to all Rahdars (10) Guzarbans (11) Chowkeydars Izardars (12) etc. and to all the Golls (13) Guzars (14), within our Districts as far as the Pechowlerah (?) of Muxadavad (Murshidabad) extends, be it known that agreeable to the complaint made by the Gomasthas of the English Company the Nabob granted them a perwannah for all the Ghats (ferries) in the Subaship of Bengal that contrary to their ancient customs no new Impositions be laid on their Goods by the Rahadary's etc. Because they have a Phirmaund from the King as also Senauds of former Subahs exempting them from such Impositions, for this reason I wrote that my Pachowlerah (?) Ghat do not take more than what is now settled as particularized below ; Take care they have no further cause of complaint. In this affair be punctual and observant:—

|                  |     |     |     |          |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------|
| Aurungabad       | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 4/-  |
| Barrah Gurreah   | ... | ... | ... | Re. 1/-  |
| Godah Gurry      | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 2/-  |
| Moorchah         | ... | ... | ... | „ 3/-    |
| Jellengy         | ... | ... | ... | „ 3/10/- |
| Butsallah        | ... | ... | ... | -/6/-    |
| Seberampore      | ... | ... | ... | „ 2/-    |
| Lullyadangah     | ... | ... | ... | Re. 1/-  |
| Buxypore         | ... | ... | ... | „ 1/-    |
| Ballu Bubrampore | ... | ... | ... | -/8/-    |
| Turmohaunny      | ... | ... | ... | Rs. 2/-  |
| Nazarpore        | ... | ... | ... | Re. 1/-  |
| Custeah          | ... | ... | ... | -/8/-    |
| Aukdunk          | ... | ... | ... | -/8/-    |

KALI KINKAR DUTTA.

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) "A collector of tolls or transit duties".

(11) "An officer appointed to take tolls both on the high roads and at ferries".

(12) "A farmer of any item of public revenue, whether from land, customs, or any other sources; the renter of a village or estate at a stipulated rate". Wilson's Glossary, p. 214.

(13) Gola="A grain or salt store or market; a place where it is sold wholesale". *Ibid.*, p. 18.

(14) "A ferry, a ferry station or boat, a place of transit or toll". *Ibid.*, p. 192.

## Suppression of Suttee in "the Province of Cuttack."

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WHILE examining historical records in the record rooms of the Collector and Commissioner at Cuttack I came across some interesting references to the practice of Sati (Suttee) to which I will briefly allude in this paper.

The word *Sati* means a virtuous woman devoted, in life and death, to her husband ; in the case of latter's death, she immolated herself on his funeral pyre, this practice being called *sahagamana* or *sahamarana* (literally going with him or *dying* with him). In the case of absence from her lord at the time of his death or her periodical uncleanness or for other sufficient reason she was allowed at a subsequent time to burn herself without the body of the husband, the rite being called *anoomarana*. The act of self-immolation was in most cases voluntary (as will presently appear) being considered highly meritorious to the widow and honourable to her family. On account of the practice existing for countless ages and being regarded as forming part of the Hindu religion the British Government did not think it wise, on the grounds of policy and expediency, to interfere with it by legislation. It was only content to show its dis-approval of the act ; and asked the executive officers to act conformably to instructions issued to them from time to time. Circular orders were passed by the Nizamat Adalat and communicated by the Register of that court to the Courts of Circuit and to the Zila and city Courts of Fouzdary Adalat for the guidance of the Zila and City magistrate e.g., circular instructions of the 29th April, 1813, 4th January 1815 etc. These were often accompanied by the *bewasthas* of the pandits such as Shovba Rae Shastry, Pundit of the Sudder Dewanny Adalat and Sree Raj Chundra Tarkalankar, Pundit of the Provincial Court of Appeal for the Division of Dacca. The magistrates were to submit suttee reports to the Nizamat Adalat. Women of the Jogee tribe became Suttee by burying themselves alive along with the corpse of their deceased husbands. Pandit Raj Tarkalankar was of opinion that this was founded only on practice, the Sastras recognising no other mode of *sahamarana* than that of ascending the flaming funeral pyre of the deceased husband.

From the proceedings of the Nizamat Adalat of the 21st May, 1819 we learn that the Court observed with concern that the total number of Hindoo widows ascertained to have been burnt or buried alive in 1818 considerably exceeded the number reported in each of the three preceding years, viz.—

In 1815—378  
1816—442  
1817—707  
1818—839

The increase was attributed to the greater vigilance on the part of the police in reporting suted cases and the prevalence of epidemic disease during the last two years. The court observed, . . . "But still the fact of the increase which appears to have been hitherto progressive must in the opinion of the court, unavoidably excite a doubt, whether the measures publicly adopted with the humane view of diminishing the number of these sacrifices by pointing out the cases in which the Hindoo Law is considered to permit them, and those in which that Law forbids them, have not rather been attended with a contrary effect than the one contemplated . . ."

"The cases in which under the rules and orders now in force, the ceremony of Sutte is declared contrary to the Shasters and to usage, and in which the officers of police are directed to interpose their authority for its prevention, after having proceeded to the spot on obtaining intelligence of the intended sacrifice, and after having ascertained the circumstances, and explained the illegality are as follow :

1. Where the widow is not sixteen years of age.
2. Where pregnancy is apparent or presumable, or where there is bodily uncleanness from periodical cause.
3. Where the widow's assent to the act is no manifest, the exercise of her will being counteracted by intoxicating or narcotic drugs or otherwise.
4. When the widow is of the bramin cast, and burns on any other than the funeral pile of the husband.
5. Where a woman of any other cast burns without the body of her husband, except she were absent from her husband, when he died and burns immediately on receiving intelligence of his death, or except she were merely disqualified at the time by bodily uncleanness.
6. When the widow has child under the age of three years and written engagement is not entered into by some one to maintain and bring up the infant."

From the extract of resolutions of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council in the Judicial Department, dated the 30th July, 1819 it appears that although the Vice-President in Council concurred with the court of Nizamat Adalat in the expediency of many measures, he thought it inadvisable to promulgate the measures in the formal state of legislative enactment, but suggested the issuing of circular orders for the guidance of the magistrates and police officers and a draft was accordingly prepared.

"At the period (9th September, 1817) when his Lordship's sentiments, concurring in the proposed arrangements were received the state of our political relations with the Mahratta States, the extensive military operations carrying on the Central India, and the disturbances prevailing in Cuttack rendered it in the judgment of the Vice-President in Council, expedient to postpone the promulgation of the rules in question ; until a period of greater tranquillity. Subsequent reports from Nizamat Adalat and of the Superintendent of police of



Lower Provinces excited considerable doubts with regard to actual effects produced by circular orders.

"The Governor-General is reluctantly led to express his apprehension that the greater confidence with which the people perform this rite under the sanction of Government, as implied or avoided in the circular orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry by the continual agitation of the question may have tended to augment rather than to diminish the frequency of these sacrifices . . . It was considered inexpedient to promulgate the circular orders prepared in the year 1817 until the doubts regarding causes of increased prevalence shall be removed."

Circular orders of the Nizamat Adalat were accordingly received by the Commissioner of Cuttack who transmitted them to the magistrates under him for their guidance. Mr. W. L. Melville, Acting Magistrate, Zila Cuttack, writes a letter to Mr. A. Stirling, Secretary to the Commissioner, Cuttack, under date 3rd February, 1820 (vide Vol. 24 in the Commissioner's Record Room).

"This district has apparently shared in the gradual and progressive increase of these sacrifices remarked by the Nizamat Adalat throughout the country. The number this year is thirteen inclusive of these in six Tannas under the Joint Magistrates. Of these six Tannas Poorsuttan Chutter (Jagannath) has always afforded a considerable proportion of the suttees of the district and I suspect present reports will show that the progressive increase continues."

He is disposed to think however, "that the increase is rather nominal than real", as the late proclamation of 1818 issued by Mr. Turnbull secured more correct police reports.

". . . The general impression I believe to be that suttees are prohibited altogether, but that if a woman be very determined and persevering her performance of the rite is winked at by the officers of Government.

6. "I witnessed a suttee of two women sometime back at Pooree (Jagannath). Remonstrances had no effect on them. A discussion took place respecting the mood (mode ?) which was to burn them which they listened to quite unmoved. They threw themselves into the flaming pit (in which women burn in Orissa) neither with an air of timidity nor bravado, but as if the simple execution of deliberate purpose. One of them died immediately. The other sat perfectly composed with her hand held up before her face in the middle of the fire for the space of one or two minutes when she fell back and also expired.

7. I mention this instance, which exhibited I believe nothing at all uncommon, to show how powerful must be the enthusiasm excited on such occasions. I should apperend therefore that an attempt to suppress the rite altogether as has been proposed might besides other evils lead to the secret performance of it, and whether with a view to the peculiar habits and passions of the natives in domestic life or to their relations to us I consider that the best security for the proper performance of the rite is its public performance.

8. Upon the whole I am of opinion that the existing rules upon the subject do not at present in the district require any alteration. The number

of suttees has very much decreased since we acquired the Province. The lower casts of Ooriah women are permitted to marry a second time and seldom become suttees. I think more persons are deterred or prevented from the sacrifice by the interference of the police than are incited to it by the perpetual agitation of the question or by the eclat conferred by the active interference by Government."

From an extract from the proceedings of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council in the Judicial Department under date the 17th July, 1821 (*vide* Vol. No. 96 Cuttack Commissioner's Record Room) it appears that the number of suttees decreased, by 242, from the number reported in 1818. The Governor General in Council had no estimate of the causes which produced these favourable results ; but thought that the increase in the year 1818 was due to the fatal outbreak of Cholera morbus which augmented the general mortality and "naturally increased the number of Suttees in corresponding proportion." "His Lordship in Council, however, is disposed to ascribe the recent diminution in the number of Suttees in some degree to the operation of the rules, now in force, in regard to the performance of that rite.

While the Hindu Community must perceive in these rules a distinct proof of the unwillingness of Government to interfere with their religious prejudices, and must be sensible that its authority has been interposed only to prevent practices not sanctioned by their own institutions, they cannot fail to recognise the extreme regret with which the continuance of a custom so revolting to humanity is viewed by Government and to be conscious of the gratification on the part of the people themselves to discourage and discontinue it.

The Governor General in Council cannot concur in the Policy or Expediency of the measure proposed by the second judge of the Nizam Adalat, and he is of opinion that the authoritative interposition of Government with a view to abolish the rite of Sutte either in the manner recommended by Mr. Smith or by the adoption of the partial measures respectively suggested by Mr. Leycester and Mr. Dorin, would not only fail of success, but would tend to excite a spirit of fanaticism, and eventually to produce very injurious consequences."

From the extract of the proceedings of the Nizam Adalat it appears that in the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Cuttack there were 31 suttees in 1823 as compared with 28 in 1822, most of the females being in low circumstances. The Joint Magistrate of Khurda reported that a widow having actually ascended the flaming pile leaped off and was ultimately saved from destruction. Mr. C. J. Middleton, Joint Magistrate informed Mr. Thomas Pakenham (6th September, 1824) that "the woman returned to the family and was received by them as usual."

From the Sutte report of 1827 it appears that in three instances of suttee the police were not present, in one of which no less than three widows of one man the proprietor of tributary Mahal sacrificed themselves with his corpse ; there was one case in which the widow relinquished her determination of becoming a suttee after she had ascended the funeral pile. In 1826

the number was 35, as against 16 in 1825, there being an increase of 19 cases. "In two instances the ceremony was performed by post cremation with some relic belonging to the deceased husband. In all the other cases the Magistrate reported that the women were burnt after due enquiry by the police officers."

The Magistrate of Cuttack reporting to Mr. Stockwell, the Commissioner (1st August, 1829) on the case of a sati suggested that the inhuman practice should be stopped by legislation.

Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, the Register of the Nizam Adalat wrote on the 28th March, 1828 to Mr. Pakenham the Commissioner of Cuttack in reply to the letter of the latter requesting the opinion of the court whether under the circumstances of a case of intended Sati reported by him "the widow should now be permitted to burn herself according to the rite of anoomarana".

"2. In reply I am directed to communicate to you the opinion of the court that supposing the intermediate cause of disqualification (which is stated to have been intoxication) to be now removed, and supposing also that no other legal impediment to the sacrifice exists, there does not appear just ground for interference of authority."

Thus we find that so long as there was a compliance with the *bewastahs* of the Pandits and the interpreted Shastras there was reluctance on the part of authority to prevent the practice. But gradually the feeling was growing that the practice should be stopped by legislation.

From the extract of the proceedings of the Nizam Adalat under date the 8th August, 1828 we learn ; "The Raja of Killa Pattea having died two of his wives and two of his slave girls sacrificed themselves on his funeral pile." The immolation of the slave girls was not legal, the court thought that those who assisted in their sacrifice should have been brought to trial. Regarding the case of the Jogee woman who buried herself alive with corpse of her deceased husband, such a sacrifice was never expressly declared illegal, though following the *Vyabastahs* of the Pundits the court in 1816 recommended the suppression of the practice by legislative enactment. In Khoorda there were suttee cases of mature women in good circumstances and the police officers were present on the occasions, and "there was no illegality under the existing rules." In Balasore a woman of 87 years committed herself to the flames with the corpse of her deceased husband in spite of the protest of the police.

Lord William Bentinck was meanwhile devoting his anxious thoughts to the question and was taking a census of opinion, with a view to strengthen himself in his noble act of abolishing the rite by legislative enactment. He wrote in his masterly minute of the 8th November, 1829 ; "I should be guilty of little short of the crime of multiplied murder if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation", and surely he had "the credit of an act which is to wash out a foul stain upon British rule." This noble feeling as was entertained by His Excellency was shared by many British

officers of inferior rank. I will conclude this paper with some quotations from a letter written by Mr. H. Brownlow, Acting Magistrate of Southern Division Zillah Cuttack, viz., Pooree to Mr. G. Shockwell, Commissioner, 19th Division, Cuttack under date the 1st August, 1829:

" . . . . as Government is at present engaged in taking the sense of the community at large on the expediency of suppressing them (Suttees) I trust I may be excused for making some remarks on the subject.

2nd. It was my misfortune to be called on in the capacity of Magistrate to sanction the performance of one of these revolting scenes but a few days ago. Painful as must be the feelings of every Christian to be an eye witness even of such degrading sights, still harder is the lot of those who are in some degree made the passive instruments of their performance—sooner therefore than tacitly submit to such an outrage of decency, and resolved to see what effect words would have towards dissuading the infatuated creature from so wretched a purpose.

3rd. Accordingly I, in company with several other gentlemen went to the house, where we found the poor woman seated, perfectly composed, but quite deaf to our united entreaties. Finding therefore all remonstrance vain I was compelled to allow the procession to advance hoping to the last that Pain would accomplish what Persuasion could not. But no; with eager delight she approached the flames, and after distributing a few things to her friends, leapt in.

4th. It may be here remarked that instead of Piles, a Pit is commonly dug for performance of these ceremonies which practice obtained in this District.

5th. Prior however to the completion of her rash act, I planted a ladder with my own hands, and stood by with the Police in attendance to rescue the unfortunate creature, had she signified even by a motion her wish to return to Earth. But very far must have been her thoughts from such a contemplation, on the contrary she courted the flames. With a kind of frantic joy and in less than 3 minutes she was lifeless.

6th. From what I saw on this occasion I am perfectly convinced that the order of Government alone is wanted to making the penalty of such offences death, and we should then hear that such like the Saug or sacrifices had ceased to exist. So satisfied was I of this, and a subsequent occurrence proves that my supposition was not erroneous, that I resolved not only to discontinuance but to disallow their performance whilst I was in the charge of this magistracy.

7th. Accordingly when the day before yesterday another suttee was announced to be about to take place, I positively put my veto on it, and without allowing time, for the performance of certain preliminary steps, such as Decking themselves with garlands, oiling, etc., etc. I hastened to the spot, dispersed the mob, ordered the dead body to be burned immediately, and the widow to be given into the custody of her father.

8th. As I expected Resolution carried the day. Not the slightest disapprobation has since been evinced, and this circumstance may I trust tend towards convincing Government that if the order of a Magistrate acting on his own responsibility can suppress such proceedings with what satisfaction what happy results might not their orders be attended for entire abolition of such degrading cruelties?"

KALIPADA MITTER.

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## Glimpses of Serampore (1810-1820)

(Continued from pp. 22—25).

THE following notes are explanatory of the extracts from the diary of Severin Kierulf, merchant in the service of the Danish East India Company at Serampore, which were published in our last number (pp. 22—25), through the kindness of Mr. Lorenz Bie of Copenhagen.

I. Colonel Ole Bie, the ancestor of Mr. Lorenz Bie, was Governor of Serampore from 1789 until his death there on May 13, 1805, in the seventy-third year of his age. His daughter Matilda married, firstly, on January 22, 1779. John Carmichael, a junior merchant in the East India Company's service on the Bengal establishment, and, secondly, on November 8, 1784, Frederick Schaffalitzky de Muckadel, Danish Consul in India. Hence the description of "son of son in law of Ole Bie, Esq.," applied to Aquarius Schaffalitzky de Muckadel, of the commercial house of Stevenson and Co. of Manila, whose betrothal to Miss Fanny Ranken (1) is announced on April 22, 1818, and whose marriage to the lady was celebrated "in the house of the royal chief" at Serampore on January 1, 1819. A connexion with the Plowden family was thus established.

Frances Wilhelmina (1820-1900), the daughter of this couple, was married at Meerut on June 2, 1836, to Trevor John Chichele Plowden the second (1809-1899), of the Bengal Civil Service (1827-1861). The two sons of this marriage were Mr. Alfred Plowden (1844-1914), the well-known London Police Magistrate, and Sir Trevor John Chichele Plowden the third (1846-1905) of the Bengal Civil Service (1868-1898) who was the father of Lady Lytton. One of the daughters married Sir William Grey (1818-1878), who was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1867 to 1871: and another married Colonel Warren Hastings of the Indian Army (who is still alive). The romance connected with the marriage of Trevor Plowden and Frances Schaffalitzky is thus related by Col. Walter Plowden in *The Records of the Chichele Plowdens* (pp. 179-180):

Trevor Plowden married in 1836 at the age of twenty seven a young lady of Danish parentage whose family, the Schaffalitzky de Mucadels, originally hailed from Poland. Her father was a planter in the Mauritius and was murdered there about 1821 with the rest of his family, excepting this child, who was then an infant in arms.

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(1) Frances, daughter of Captain Charles Ranken, was baptized in Calcutta on November 20, 1784. Her father was a captain in the Bengal Engineers, and in 1781-1785 was employed in constructing the "New Road from Calcutta to Chunargur" (See Mr. Oldham's article in B. P. and P. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 32-36).

Her life was saved by her Indian nurse who contrived to escape to the coast and then to Calcutta. There the beautiful white child attracted the notice of Dr. Lyon Playfair (2), while on his rounds as Sanitary Officer of the City, and he adopted her and brought her up with his family. She was married at the early age of sixteen and survived until 1900, husband and wife completing sixty three years of married life. She was remarkable for her great beauty : and her kind heart and unaffected manners made her universally beloved. Her grand-daughters Sybil [Lady Eden] and Pamela [Lady Lytton] have inherited her features.

II. Another romance is attached to the subject of the second entry in the diary—Archibald Hamilton Kelso, British Commissioner of Tranquebar, who was married to a Danish Lady, the daughter of "the deceased consul Edward Colbirnsen." Kelso was the nephew of Sir Alexander Hamilton who, after commanding the *Marquis of Buckingham* Indiaman from 1769 to 1777 (when she was lost off the Coromandel Coast), became a well-known "ship's husband." Richard Farington, the brother of Joseph Farington the diarist, was captain of two of his ships, the *Lascelles* and the *Henry Addington*. There are naturally, therefore, several references to Hamilton in the Farington diary, from which we learn that he died on June 12, 1809 at the Retreat, his house near Topsham in Devon, and that the whole of his property, amounting to £100,000 was left "to a nephew at present in the East Indies" upon his reaching the age of twenty-five, on condition that he assumed the name of Hamilton. As Kelso was "out of the service" in 1811, we may take it that he had by that time succeeded to his inheritance which is still enjoyed by his descendant, Mr. Alexander Kelso Hamilton.

III. The death at Serampore from cholera morbus on November 15, 1818, of Miss Mary Richardson, was speedily followed by that of her father, Richard Samuel Richardson who died at Barrackpore on November 21. According to Col. Crawford, Richardson (Bengal 424) is said to have been the first native of India to be appointed to the Indian Medical Service. He was gazetted as assistant surgeon in 1792 and surgeon in 1806. In all probability, he was of mixed parentage.

IV. The death is recorded on May 11, 1817, of John Hyde "who lived here since 1798 and before was in an important position at the Supreme Court in Calcutta." This namesake (and possibly relative) of the famous colleague of Impey and Chambers began his career in India as an Ensign in the Bengal Army in December 1783 and resigned his commission on November 7, 1785—the day upon which he was appointed (no doubt through the judge's influence) to the office of Master and Accountant General of the Supreme Court, in succession to William Chambers. In 1792 he became keeper of the

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(2) Colonel Plowden seems to have confused Lyon Playfair (1818-1898) the first Lord Playfair, who never held a medical appointment in India, with his father George Playfair (1782-1846) who was appointed an assistant surgeon in Bengal in 1805 and retired in 1843 as inspector-general of hospitals. Dr. George Playfair and his brother Capt. W. D. Playfair are mentioned in the extract as relatives of Miss Fanny Ranken.

Records and in 1793 Prothonotary. The cause of his retirement to Serampore which was outside the jurisdiction of the Calcutta court was probably financial.

V. William Drury Kerr of the Bengal Civil Service, who died "at Allipore, a district near Calcutta" on July 13, 1817, married Claudine Palmer, the daughter of John Palmer on May 8, 1815. His widow married Capt. Llewellyn Convoy, the commandant of the Calcutta Native Militia (known later as the Alipore Regiment) on January 10, 1822. Convoy, who was a brother of Sir John Convoy, Bart, the physician and secretary of Queen Victoria's mother the Duchess of Kent, died of cholera, also at Alipore, on September 4, 1825, at the age of thirty-seven. Claudine Palmer's sisters married Henry William Hobhouse (1791-1868) of the Bengal Civil Service, brother of Sir John Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) and father of Sir Charles Parry Hobhouse (1825-1916); William Tayler (1808-1892), the famous Commissioner of Patna in Mutiny days; Lieut. (afterwards Major General) Thomas Dickinson (1789-1859); and Robert Castle Jenkins of the firm of Palmer and Co., whose son Robert Palmer Jenkins (1826-1899) was another Bengal Civilian.

VI. "Mrs. Colonel Meisselback," whose repeated additions to her family are recorded, was the wife of Johann Frederick Meisselbach, a native Jena, whose early exploits as an officer in the service of Raja Himmat Bahadur of Bundelkhand, the Gosain chief, have been obscured by his later reputation as the "father in law of the Bengal Army." His house at Serampore must have been a favourite rendezvous for the subalterns of the Barrackpore regiments: for no less than six of them were captured by his daughters. One of the weddings is chronicled on October 21, 1820. The Colonel died at Serampore in 1819 but was buried at Barrackpore; there is no stone to mark his grave. His wife whose maiden name was Ann Jones and who was the daughter of a merchant, survived him for fifteen years: she lies buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, and two of her sons erected a monument to her memory.

VII. The name of Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Turner Bassett, of the Invalid Establishment, who died at Serampore on October 25, 1818, is misprinted "Bassell" in the extracts.

VIII. The fact is interesting that Severin Kierulf, who was presumably a Danish subject, was able to purchase a cornet's commission for his son William Duntzfelt Kierulf in H. M.'s 22nd Light Dragoons. A parallel is furnished by Colonel Bie who obtained cadetships in the Bengal Army for two of his sons. George Bie (artillery cadet 1779) became a captain in January, 1796 and died at Serampore on August 22 of the same year. Jacob Bie (infantry cadet 1781) resigned in Europe in February 1785.

IX. Major Ferdinand Smith, whose widow married Samuel Middleton on January 30, 1821, is the well-known Lewis Ferdinand Smith, the historian of the military adventurers of Hindostan, who entered the service of Mahdaji Sindhia during the period of de Boigne's command. His will is dated September 9, 1818, and was proved in Calcutta on November 23, 1820:



Samuel Middleton has not been traced as a member of the covenanted service : but he was the third of the name in Bengal. The first died at Pirpainti near Bhagalpur in 1775 : he was then President of the Board of Trade, and his portrait was painted for the Calcutta Freemasons by Tilly Kettle. The second who was born in Calcutta in 1763 was a writer of 1778 and acted for some time as Presidency Police Magistrate : Middleton Street and Middleton Row are named after him.

X. According to the *Bengal Obituary* (p. 202), which reproduces the inscription on his tombstone in the North Park Street Cemetery, Henry Charles [Heinrich Carl] Bang died in Calcutta on May 23, 1816, at the age of 40 years and two months, and not 75 years, as stated in the extracts. His infant daughter Margaret Catherine Bang, who is buried close by, was born on September 12, 1814, and died on April 3, 1817. Assistant Surgeon William Moore, his wife's father, died at Barrackpore on April 5, 1800.

XI. Charles Wasmus whose daughter Charlotte Frederika was married on September 25, 1815, to Constantine Sherin "in the house of Mr. Otto Bie", was the author of "Memoirs of a Gentleman who resided several years in the East Indies during the late Revolutions by C. W.", which was published in London in 1774 (Crawford, p. 7). He was a German and received his education at the University of Helmstadt. We find him in Bengal as a surgeon's mate in 1753. He served at Cossimbazar and Patna and also at Fort Marlborough (1779-1792) and took part in the operations under Major Thomas Adams against Mir Kasim (battles of Katwa and Udhwa Nala and capture of Monghyr and Patna). In 1796 he was pensioned and received permission to return to Europe : but died in 1800, apparently in Calcutta. The second name of "Philip" is not given to him in Crawford's Roll of the I. M. S. (Bengal 54).

XII. John Brereton Birch (not Burcton, as printed in the extracts), whose "divorced wife Anna Maria Man" married Charles Richard Barwell, B. C. S., on February 5, 1821, had a remarkable matrimonial career (3). In 1791 he married Louisa Judith Rous, daughter of Sir John Rous, Bart : she died at the birth of her only son, who became Rector of Southwold and was the father of John William Birch, Governor of the Bank of England. His second wife, Ann Maria Mann, whom he married at Calcutta on August 1, 1805, was the mother of two sons in the Bengal Army : George Roydes Birch (1807-1864), who took his pension on Lord Clive's Fund in 1833, and became a clergyman, and Captain Thomas Charles Birch (born in 1814) who was Fort Adjutant at Allahabad when he was killed by mutineers on June 6, 1857. The third wife was "Princess Hadji Karbarhi, by whom he had an only daughter who married a grandson of Tippoo Sahib." Birch was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1812 and achieved a considerable reputation as Presidency Police Magistrate. "Anna Maria Man" did not long survive her marriage with Barwell ; she died on March 14, 1822, and is described on her tombstone in

(3) The particulars of Birch's three marriages are taken from J. E. Cussans' *History of Hertfordshire* (Vol. III, p. 146). His grandson John William Birch purchased Rickmansworth Park in 1879.

the North Park Street cemetery as the daughter of Thomas Henchman who is commemorated by a tall obelisk in the old Residency enclosure at Malda. Barwell, who was one of the numerous sons of Richard Barwell, died on December 12, 1836, after a career of 32 years in the service of the Company, and is buried in the same cemetery.

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## Our Library Table.

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*Bombay in the days of Queen Anne being an Account of the Settlement written by John Burnell: to which is added Burnell's Narrative of his Adventures in Bengal. (Hakluyt Society, Series II, Vol. LXXII, 1933).*

In *Bengal Past and Present* of October-December, 1923, (Vol. XXVI, pp. 113—132) Sir Evan Cotton published, under the title "An Adventurer in Bengal in 1712", a transcript of a paper which had been found in the Orme collection of manuscripts at the India Office. There it had a title descriptive of its contents, viz., "The Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta in the government of Mr. Russel and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley." The paper itself gave no clue to the identity of the author beyond a mention of the fact that he had been cashiered at Madras, and even Sir Evan Cotton was unable to trace his previous history or subsequent career.

The researches of Miss Anstey have since revealed the existence of an account of Bombay by the same hand, and also the identity of the unknown adventurer. He was a John Burnell, who first comes on the scene as an ensign in the Company's service at Bombay, where he was engaged on some survey work and was for 11 months in charge of the fort at Dongri. He left Bombay in May, 1711, in order to return to England, but his ship having had to put into Madras on account of bad weather, he gave up the idea of going home and stayed on at Fort Saint George. There he was appointed ensign both because there "was never an ensign fitt to do duty in the garrison" and also because he was a good draughtsman, had some knowledge of fortification and was likely to be of use in attending to the buildings and their repairs. He held his appointment for less than a year, for in May, 1712, he was dismissed as an insolent offender, the counts against him being abusiveness, intemperance and disobedience to orders.

Burnell next went to Calcutta in search of employment and arrived there at the end of November, 1712. He first offered his services to the Governor, John Russell, but was informed that there was no vacancy which he could fill and was advised to go home—advice which he could not have acted upon, even if he had wished to do so, as he had not enough money for a passage. He determined to seek his fortunes in a little war which was going on in the neighbourhood of Hooghly between Zia-ud-din Khan. ("Juda con"), ex-Governor of Hooghly, who on being superseded had broken out in rebellion, and the forces sent against him by the Diwan, Murshid Kuli Khan, under Mir Abu Talib, whom Burnell writes of as the Emmer of Bengal or simply the Emmer. He was equally unsuccessful there, for his efforts to

obtain a command were foiled by the enmity of an Augustinian friar, who was in charge of the European troops sent by the Diwan, and his narrative ends with his going off to Murshidabad, presumably to offer his services to Murshid Kuli Khan. Of his subsequent career all that is known is that he was again in Calcutta in 1714, still unemployed and impecunious, but some temporary work was found for him in drawing a map of the world, which was to be one of the presents to the emperor Farrukhsiyar taken by Surman's embassy. For this he was paid Rs. 200. He was also given a free passage to England, but it is not known whether he availed himself of it.

The book now published by the Hakluyt Society contains Burnell's account of Bombay and the narrative of his adventures in Bengal. The former gives a detailed description of Bombay when it was still a collection of seven islands before what Mr. Sheppard calls "the great epic of reclamation which has been in progress for two and a half centuries". Old landmarks have been obliterated or obscured by the amalgamation of the islands and by the construction and development of the modern city ; but Mr. Sheppard has unravelled the tangles of topography with marvellous skill, and all students of the history and topography of Bombay will feel a real obligation to him for the way in which he has linked up the past with the present.

Burnell was chiefly interested in the physical aspects of Bombay and had little to say about social life or local personalities. Its unhealthiness and somewhat desolate condition are however sketched with some graphic touches. It was only a step from the hospital to the cemetery in more senses than one, for the hospital adjoined the cemetery and most of the sick died. To judge from Burnell's account, the words "Abandon hope all ye who enter here" might well have been inscribed over the door of the hospital. The nightly concert of jackals, he grimly writes, woke up the sick man to the thought what a dainty morsel he was like to make them. The cemetery was "the most famous repository in the East, a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives but gaping for more". Whole regiments of soldiers lay there, they were not given coffins, and their only tombstones were rocks piled up to prevent the jackals tearing them out of their graves.

There were not many buildings in the English town, and they were only one storey high. The sessions house had once been a sumptuous pile but was in ruins. The church had been built only up to the eaves : not a stone had been added to it since Keigwin's rebellion nearly thirty years before ; it was already beginning to decay and trees were growing out of the stonework. Not only cows but all other provisions were scarce, and the English were dependent on their neighbours the Portuguese for nearly all their food : "we might starve were we only to subsist on the product of the island". The pirate Angria preyed on the shipping. A fleet of only five vessels cruised about for its protection but Angria cared not a farthing for the little fleet ; offered it battle in the port and threatened to invade the island. While Burnell was in Bombay, the troops were kept on the *qui vive*, in hourly expectation of an attack, because he had branded several Indians

on the forehead and sent them back with a message that this was his mark, which he would very soon put on all the English in Bombay.

The part of the book which will appeal most to readers of *Bengal Past and Present* is that which contains the Bengal narrative. This is prefaced by an admirable introduction by Sir William Foster, while the text is elucidated by explanatory notes by Sir Evan Cotton and Miss Anstey, and there are also valuable supplements in the form of appendices by Sir Evan Cotton on Governor John Russell and Captain Hercules Courtney. The last was a friend of Burnell, like him a cashiered officer and a military adventurer, sudden and quick in quarrel. There are interesting accounts of the Danish factory at Gondalpara, of the Dutch factory at Chinsura, of the English factory at Hooghly, of the town of Hooghly, and of Bandel, which was "a nest of banditti Portugueze, who live without any manner of government"—a description reminiscent of that given by Van Linschoten over a century earlier. A detailed account is given of the navigation of the river up to Calcutta, but very little is said about Calcutta itself or of Governor John Russell. Even Job Charnock is referred to merely as "an English agent whose name I have forgot": *sic transit gloria*.

An interesting account is given of the campaign against the ex-Governor of Hooghly. The operations were as languid and indecisive as the wars of the condottieri. Apparently, both parties were waiting on events, and neither wished to force an issue until the struggle for the throne of Delhi was finally decided. Zia-ud-din had declared for Farrukhsiyar, and when the latter was at last seated on the throne, his opponent, Mir Abu Talib, decamped at night disguised as a fakir, and his army, of 1,000 horse and 6,000 foot, left without a leader, melted away. It had been kept together with some difficulty. There had been a mutiny, and three hundred of the cavalry deserted, but were induced to come back by the promise of an advance of two months pay. The camp was a scene of astonishing confusion, "destitute of form and order, horse and foot confused together without any marshalling or discipline among them". The Augustinian friar in charge of the European troops had an independent command, and as he was responsible only to the Diwan and had control over the pay-chest, the general could neither exercise authority over him nor put pressure on him.

An attractive feature of the book is the light which is thrown on the ways of military adventurers by the Bengal narrative and by Sir Evan Cotton's appendix on Captain Hercules Courtney, the latter of which is a welcome addition to our knowledge of these free lances. It is astonishing to see how little control the English authorities exercised over their movements. The Council at Calcutta was terrified of being embroiled with the Indian Government by acts which might be construed as a breach of neutrality, but completely failed to implement its admonitions. When Burnell arrived at Calcutta, the Governor warned him not to take any part in the civil war at Hooghly and pointed out that the Company might be prejudiced if he sided with either party. Burnell retorted that he felt himself free to take service with whomever he pleased provided that they were not enemies to his King and country, and went off to Hooghly without let or

hindrance. At Hooghly he was welcomed by Mir Abu Talib, who offered him the command of 100 Europeans and authorized him to take them over from the Augustinian commandant. The latter simply took no notice of the general's order, and Burnell was obviously at a disadvantage in pressing his case as he could not understand the language of the country, which the Augustinian spoke fluently. The "rascally padre", as Burnell calls him, was not the only example of the church militant. In an attack which he made on Burnell he was supported by three others wearing the robes of their order and armed with sword and buckler, and another holy father had succeeded in getting within the enemy's lines in disguise and in making a plan of the batteries.

The case of Courtney is perhaps even more striking. He had served with some success under Zia-ud-din but had thrown up his command because the payments he received were less than he had been promised, and had returned to Calcutta. Mir Abu Talib was anxious to secure his services and promised him Rs. 20,000, which was however to be paid only when the war was over and in the meantime was to be deposited half with the Governor of the Danish factory and half with the officer in charge of the Dutch factory. Reassured on this important point, Courtney was quite agreeable to serving against his former master. The English Governor wanted to deport him to Madras as an effectual means of preventing him from taking part in the war, but Courtney succeeded in getting away and joined Mir Abu Talib's forces.

He again held a commission under the Company at Bombay in 1721 and applied for permission to try his fortune in Bengal, a request which was readily granted because of his fiery temper. Later he was in the service of the Ostend Company at Bankibazar, and the Council peremptorily ordered him to return to Calcutta, reminding him of the Acts of Parliament and different declarations that no British subject should serve under the colours of any nation whatsoever in the East Indies, and pointing out that if he took part in the war which the Ostend Company was waging against the Nawab's Government, it would be a direct breach of the Company's neutrality. Courtney simply defied the Council, saying that it might arrest him if ever he came within its jurisdiction; and the last we hear of him is that he had put himself under the protection of the French at Chandernagore and was shortly bound to go to Pondicherry.

L. S. S. O'M.

*The Private Record of a Governor-General, 1793-1798 : Edited by Holden Furber, M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard University Press and Humphry Milford, London : Seven Shillings net).*

The dispersal of the Melville Papers, which were offered for sale by auction at Sotheby's upon no less than four occasions between 1924 and 1929, has not been without its compensations. Although none of them were, most regrettably, secured for the India Office Library, much of the miscellaneous India correspondence was utilized by Dr. Holden Furber of Harvard University, for an excellent life of Melville which he brought out in 1931

and which was reviewed in these columns at the time (Vol. XLII, pp. 66-70). Dr. Furber has now published a series of thirty six letters from the same collection, which were written to Melville by Sir John Shore during his tenure of the office of Governor-General from 1793 to 1798. A survey of Shore's administration is added, and also notes and appendices.

The result is a valuable contribution to a much-discussed period of Anglo-Indian history ; although there is nothing in the letters to correct the verdict which has already been passed upon Shore, that he was an admirable subordinate but an indifferent chief: *capax imperii nisi imperasset*. Nor was Shore unconscious of his shortcomings. "The duties of my situation are too much, I fear, for my abilities", he wrote on March 9, 1796, "often have I wished that Lord Cornwallis were at the head of the administration here, and that I were his coadjutor as formerly ; all would then have been easy to him and to me." This unusual tendency to self-depreciation almost disarms criticism.

Shore, as we all know, was appointed Governor-General in succession to Lord Cornwallis and was followed by Lord Wellesley. He has, therefore, come to be regarded as a stopgap, and in some respects this is what he was. The Directors, as Dr. Furber points out, had made up their minds to choose either a soldier or a diplomat. Sir William Medows, who (like Lord Willingdon) had been Governor both of Bombay and of Madras, refused the office of Governor-General, and as a diplomat was not available, Shore an experienced Bengal civil servant was selected, with instructions to pursue a policy of inactivity and non-interference with the "country powers."

Unfortunately, he was confronted with a mutiny of officers of the Bengal Army. This he quelled, not without obtaining substantial justice for the malcontents whose grievances were real. The other outstanding feature of his administration was the deposition in January 1798 of Wazir Ali whom he had already recognized as Nawab of Oudh on the death of his putative father Asaf-ud-daula in September 1797. The outcome was the murder in January 1799 of Mr. Cherry, the Resident at Benares, and the apprehension of Wazir Ali ; but these events took place after Shore had left India. Calcutta will remember him as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and as one of the principal opponents of the Permanent Settlement.

*The First Two Nawabs of Oudh : by Asheerbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Maharana's College, Udaipur : with a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E. (Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow : 1933).*

This critical study, based upon original sources, was approved as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Lucknow in January, 1932. "What I admire most in this young writer is his impartial attitude", observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his foreword, "he is free from the biographer's common failing of blind hero-worship, and has many hard things to say about the Lucknow partisan writers who have attempted to falsify history". Dr. Srivastava, like Sir Jadunath himself, goes for his

material to the mass of original Persian, Marathi, Urdu, and Hindi annals and letters. It is in this field that Indian historical students are so well fitted to labour, and it is satisfactory to know that their number is increasing. But it is essential that the grain should be sifted from the chaff: and the fact that some part of Dr. Srivastava's research has been conducted under the eyes of Sir Jadunath himself, is a guarantee that the work has been carefully and conscientiously performed.

The period with which this book is concerned is an important one. Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk, who was the founder of the Oudh dynasty, was a great soldier who resisted the Maratha advance into Northern India and although he failed against Nadir Shah at the battle of Karnal (February 23, 1739), he defeated Malhar Rao Holkar two years before (March 23, 1737) at Jalesor, some twenty six miles north-east of Agra. Dr. Srivastava assures us, on the testimony of contemporary historians, that the people of Oudh were contented and prosperous under his rule. He accepted the suzerainty of Nadir Shah and enjoyed his favour: but on March 19, 1739, barely a month after the battle of Karnal, he died suddenly at Delhi. His nephew, Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, had acted as deputy Governor of Oudh from 1724 to 1739. As Wazir he was, says Dr. Srivastava, an utter failure: "his misappropriation of the revenues of the crown lands, as well as of the provinces reduced the Emperor to poverty, and finally his open rebellion earned for him the name of *namaḡ haram* at Delhi. Nevertheless, he kept Oudh and Allahabad free from the incursions of the Marathas: for, although no soldier, he was master of a formidable army. He died on October 5, 1754 at Paparghat on the Gumti, and his body was taken to Delhi and interned near the shrine of Shah-i-Mardan. His tomb, which has been described as "the last flicker of the lamp of Mughal architecture," is close to the civil aerodrome.

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## The Editor's Note Book.

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**FIFTY** years ago—in October, 1883—there was much excitement in Calcutta over certain excavations which were being undertaken by Mr. R. R.

The Discovery of the  
site of the Black Hole in  
1883.

Bayne, under the instructions of the Government of Bengal, in order to determine the site of the Black Hole. The following extract is taken from the

*Statesman* of the time :

Mr. Bayne has succeeded in bringing to light three of the actual walls of the celebrated dungeon, and a portion of the flooring, as also two pillars forming a part of the outer verandah attached to the building. The site of the discovery is just on the carriage drive leading in from the north-east gate of the General Post Office, and running between the main building of the Post Office and the Customs House opium godowns. One or two of the walls, when first brought to light, were in perfect condition, the plaster being intact on almost every face ; but these have been almost dismantled by the crowds of visitors who flock to the spot every day and who make it a point to carry away a piece of plaster or a brick as a souvenir of the place.

In the second volume of "Our Viceregal Life in India," Lady Dufferin mentions a visit which she paid to the site with Lord Dufferin on March 29, 1886, when they were accompanied by Dr. Busteed. The excavations, which were begun by Mr. Bayne in 1880, were continued and eventually completed in 1892 by Dr. C. R. Wilson, who gives a full account of them in his book on "Old Fort William in Bengal" (Vol. II, Indian Records Series).

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**ON** August 15, 1853, eighty years ago, William Coates Blaquiére died at his house in Calcutta. He was in his ninetieth year and at the age

of thirteen had come out to Bengal in 1777 on board  
Two Calcutta veterans. the *Seahorse* with William Hickey (Memoirs Vol. II,

p. 103). He was accompanying his father Jacob Blaquiére, who was superintendent of piece goods. Hickey describes him as a "remarkably smart clever lad" : and he speedily justified that opinion. Although he is best remembered by the tradition which designates him as the original of the figure of Christ in Zoffany's picture of the Last Supper, he held many important offices. He was not only prominent in Bengal Freemasonry, but was also Chief Interpreter to the Supreme Court, Third Presidency Magistrate, and Justice of the Peace for upwards of fifty-three years. We learn from the *Calcutta Review* in 1852 (Vol. XVIII, p. 315), that he lived in Bow Bazar in "the house near the

Baitakhana" and that "he had seen the Maidan all paddy field." In 1848, five years before his death, Robert Belchambers, a young man of eighteen, arrived in Calcutta, and died there on June, 1913, at the age of eighty-three. He was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court on February 17, 1857, and became quite a Calcutta institution as Deputy Registrar, and ultimately Registrar, on the Original Side. The lives of these two men in Calcutta filled just 136 years: and in either case the residence was continuous.

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**I**N the map of 1784 the name "Boytacannah" is given, not only to the whole length of the road from Lal Bazar to what is now known as Circular Road but also to a portion of Circular Road itself. The Baitakhana. Proposals were announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* in 1788 "for repairing the large Bytakhannah Road extending from the Protestant Burial Ground to the north-east corner of Dhurumtollah Road." The name was next applied to the quarter bounded by College Street and Circular Road. Mrs. Heber writes in her husband's journal: "In the evening the Bishop walked to the Boytacannah, the part of the city where the trees for [hook] swinging are erected." The famous Boytacannah Tree, which tradition persistently connected with the personality of Job Charnock, is shown in Upjohn's map of 1794 at the corner of Circular Road upon the southern portion of the ground now appropriated by Sealdah railway station. It is not marked on Wood's map of 1784: but it is mentioned in *Hicky's Gazette* in 1781 in connexion with "a Garden House situate at Bread and Cheese Bungalo" which is stated to be "opposite the Great Tree and forms the angle of the two roads."

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**B**LAQUIERE was already a well-established Calcutta citizen of twenty years' residence, when Colonel Arther Wellesley, of His Majesty's 33rd Regiment, landed at Chandpal Ghat on February 17, 1797. An account was given in our last issue (p. 61) of his activities in Calcutta on that occasion. From the memoirs of Captain George Elers (1777-1842) of H. M. 12th Regiment, which were published in London by his relative Lord Monson in 1903, we can obtain a pen-picture of the Colonel, as he must have presented himself to William Hickey and his fellows. Elers met the future Duke of Wellington at the Cape of Good Hope, when he was "just turned twenty-seven years of age," and was going out to Bengal with his regiment (now the 1st battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment). He writes:

At this time he was all life and spirits. In height he was about 5 feet 7 inches, with a long pale face, a remarkably large aquiline nose, a clear blue eye, and the blackest beard I ever saw. He was remarkably clean in his person, and I have known him shave twice in one day, which I believe was his constant practice. He spoke at this time remarkably quickly with, I think, a very, very slight lisp.

He had very narrow jawbones, and there was a great peculiarity in his ear, which I never observed but in one other person—the late Lord Byron—the lobe of the ear uniting to the cheek. He had a particular way, when pleased of pursing up his mouth. I have often observed it when he has been thinking abstractedly.

Wellesley received the brevet rank of colonel on May 1, 1796.

**H**OW many of those who visit the India Office in London stop to examine the contents of the long glass case in the corridor on the first floor, facing the spacious Durbar Court ? The collection of Indian war medals which is there displayed is full of interest, notably those which were issued in the days of John Company. Special privileges, such as exemption from the pilgrim tax, were attached to certain medals as in the case of the Deccan medal authorized in 1784-1785. The Mysore medal for the operations against Tippoo Sultan in 1791-1792 were struck both in gold and silver. The Ceylon medal of 1795-1796 was awarded to a small force of Bengal Artillerymen who assisted Colonel Petrie in capturing the island from the Dutch. The Seringapatam medal (1799) was the first which was issued by the Directors to English as well as to Indian troops, and to the forces of the Crown as well as to those of the Company. Medals were also granted for Egypt (1801) in commemoration of Sir Ralph Abercromby's victory, and for the operations in 1810 against the French islands of Rodriguez, Bourbon, and Mauritius. Next in order are the Java (1811) and the Nepal (1814-1816) medals. For the Gwalior campaign of 1843, when the battles of Maharajpore and Punniar were fought on the same day, two bronze stars were issued: these were made from the captured guns. Originally, they were worn with a hook to fasten on the coat, but later were suspended to the rainbow ribbon, which was originally designed by Lord Ellenborough for the Afghan war medals of 1842, and was also used for the Sind medals (Meeanee and Hyderabad). In some cases the earlier medals were hung round the neck by a cord. It is a remarkable fact that the first general Indian medal for campaigns extending from 1799 to 1826 bears the profile of Queen Victoria who was not born when most of the battles inscribed on the bars were fought. The explanation is that the medal was not issued until 1841, and it naturally followed that most of the medals had perforce to be presented to the next of kin.

**SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN**, in his *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, which was published in 1844, says: "There are, I believe, many Jemadars who still wear medals on their breasts for their services in the taking of Java and the isle of France (Mauritius) more than thirty years ago. Indeed, I suspect that some will be found who accompanied Sir David Baird to Egypt." Baird started from Bombay at the end of December 1800, and arrived at Kosseir, on the coast of Upper Egypt, on June 8. In nine days, with a force

The Egyptian Expedition of 1801.

of 6,600 British and Indian troops, he crossed 140 miles of the desert to the Nile and reached Cairo on August 10 with hardly any casualties. The united force then marched to Alexandria and on August 31 the French general Menou capitulated and the whole French army evacuated Egypt. This achievement has been undeservedly forgotten.

ONE man survives to wear the Mutiny Medal with the special clasp for the Defence of the Lucknow Residency. This is Mr. C. G. Palmer, C.I.E.,

The Last Wearer of  
the Lucknow clasp.

once Chief Engineer in the United Provinces and now living in British Columbia. He was a boy of ten during the siege and earned his medal by acting as ammunition carrier and errand boy to the battery commanded by his brother-in-law, Capt. Ralph Ouseley of the 48th Bengal Infantry. His father, Colonel Henry Palmer of the same regiment, successfully evacuated the Machhi Bhawan and after the siege commanded the Lucknow Regiment which was formed from the loyal remnants of the 13th, 48th, and 71st B. I. He died at Mussoorie on August 23, 1882, and resided at one time in a boarding house on Chowringhee (now occupied by the premises of Whiteaway Laidlaw and Co.) where he was noted for his patriarchal beard and for the habit (which he shared with General Mowbray Thomson) of dividing it in two and tying the wings behind his neck. Two of his daughter, Mrs. Ouseley and her sister (a girl of 19 who was one of the first victims) lost their lives during the siege. Young Palmer was sent to England after the final relief of the Residency, and entered Sherborne School, but he retired shortly afterwards to India and passed into the Indian Public Works Department from Roorkee.

MRS. BLANCHE LONG, one of the nine survivors of the siege died at Gloucester on September 27—two days after the seventy-sixth anniversary of the first relief. She was a daughter of Thomas

A Daughter of "Luck-  
now" Kavanagh.

Henry Kavanagh who earned the Victoria Cross by escaping from the Residency in disguise and guiding Sir Colin Campbell on his way to the second relief." For his services he received also a money reward of Rs. 20,000, and an appointment as Assistant Commissioner in Oudh. He retired in 1883 and died at Gibraltar on his voyage to Europe. Mrs. Long is survived by her younger sister, Mrs. Kathleen Haynes, who is the last of the four children who were with their parents in the Residency.

CAPT. BULLOCK writes: Miss Edith Susan Sara Van Cortlandt, the daughter of General H. C. Van Cortlandt, C.B. (1815-1888), who entered the service of Ranjit Singh in 1832, and raised the

A link with the past.

Haryana Field Force during the Mutiny, married on

March 27, 1879, Lieut.-Col. Arthur Parry Thornton, c.s.i. (1848-1909), of the Indian Political Department, who was the third son of John Thornton, (died 1889) B. C. S. 1828-1854 and Harriet Sarah Heber, daughter of Bishop Heber. This interesting connexion between the families of Van Cortlandt and Heber has not, as far as I am aware, been previously noted. An account of Van Cortlandt, who was the son of Colonel Van Cortlandt of the 19th Dragoons and was born at Meerut in 1814, is given in Grey and Garrett's *European Adventurers of Northern India* (pp. 303-307). He was Commissioner of Ferozepore at the outbreak of the Mutiny.

MAJOR HODSON sends the following curious extract from the Letters of Horace Walpole (Toynbee's edition, Vol. II, p. 170). Wal. writes in May 1780 to the Rev. William Mason: "Sir Thomas  
 "Mahomet" Rumbold  
 & "Mohammed" Pearse. Rumbold, one of our Indian mushrooms, asked his father-in-law the Bishop of Carlisle [Dr. Law] to answer for a child that he had left in a parsley bed of diamonds at Bengal. The good man consented: a man-child was born. The other godfather was the Nabob of Arcot—and the new Christian name is—Mahomet." Nothing is known of this son of Rumbold: but his second child by his second wife, a daughter of Bishop Law, who was born in 1778 and died in 1799, was called Anwar [Enver] Henry Rumbold. The name Mahomed seems, however, to have been given to one of his children by Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, the "Father of the Bengal Artillery." In a footnote (p. 434) to her *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, "Sydney C. Grier" says that she had been informed by Colonel Hugh Pearse that a son of Thomas Pearse, named Mohammed, was educated at Harrow but "disappeared after leaving school." Major Hodson has discovered a reference to him in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, but he had then exchanged the name of Mohammed for those of his father: "Pearse, Thomas Deane, S. Thomas Deane, of Calcutta, Bengal, East Indies, arm., Oriel Coll. Matric. 9 June 1795, aged 18." In the Hastings correspondence, moreover, he is always called "Mr. Tommy" in the letters written to Hastings by his mother "Panna Pearse"; these are beautifully written in Persian, with an interlinear English translation.

COL. E. W. C. SANDES, R.E. (retired), who has recently brought out the first volume of a book on "The Military Engineer in India," quotes certain well-known verses in the following form:

"Ghore par hauda,  
 Hathi par zin."

Ghore par hauda,  
 Hathi par zin,  
 Dauro! dauro,  
 Colonel Monseen!

The allusion is, of course, to the disastrous retreat of Colonel William

Monson before Holkar in 1804 : and the putting of the howdah on the horse and the saddle on the elephant is intended to illustrate the confusion which accompanied it. But Colonel Monson is by no means the original hero of the jingle. There are at least two versions which connect it with Hastings.

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THE first of these versions will be found in Bishop Heber's Journal (second edition, 1828 : Vol. I, p. 438). Heber writes : "Of the sultan-like and splendid character of Warren Hastings, many traits are preserved, and a nursery rhyme, which is often sung to children seems to show how much they were pleased with the Oriental (not European) pomp which he knew how to employ upon occasions." And then he quotes the lines :

Hat'hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,  
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Warren Hasteen.

The other version is inspired by Hastings' hasty withdrawal from Benares to Chunar in 1781 : and it is thus given in "Sydney C. Grier's" novel *The Great Proconsul* (p. 289) :

Ghore par hauda,  
Hathi par zin,  
Jaldi bhag giya  
Mester Hushteen."

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IN the wide range of examples of Anglo-Indian *argot*, pride of place has hitherto been generally conceded to such gems as Sir Roger Dowler, St. Deaves (Sandwip island) and Hobson-Jobson, with "Joshua Dun." its amusing variants *Hossy Gossy* (in Fryer) and Jacksem Backsem (Valentijn), for the Mohurrun procession. But they have met their match in a comical distortion of a Bengali name which occurs in John Burnell's "Accounts of the Island of Bombay"—a book recently published by the Hakluyt Society and reviewed elsewhere. Burnell is describing (p. 107) the manner in which death was accelerated in those days (1711) among Hindus. "After this manner," he says, "was Jashua Dun, the Company's broker in Bengal, served when he was pretty well in health." In the copy which is preserved in the *Asiatic Journal* (Vol. XXIV, July-December 1827), the name is given as "Jonathan Dun." Fortunately, a clue to this puzzle is provided by the minutes of the consultation held at Fort William on February 11, 1711-12 : "On the 4th instant our broker dyed Jonardun Seat," that is, Janardhan Sett.

IN the same volume mention is made (p. 24) of the old burying ground of Bombay—"the most famous European repository in the East, Mendhams Point, a name more terrible to a sick man than the Inquisition to a heretick; a cormorant paunch never satisfied with the daily supplies it receives, but is still gaping for more, tho' it hath swallowed more English flesh than the Bengall Tamarind Tree, Madras Guava Garden, and Green Hill at Bencala." The site of this cemetery at Mendhams Point, which is shown on old maps at the southern extremity of the Island on which the Fort once stood, is now occupied by the Bombay Legislative Council Chamber which has taken the place of the Alfred Sailors Home. Many human bones were dug up during the excavations which were made in 1928.

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THE Madras Guava Garden is easily indentified. A Fort Saint George consultation of November 29, 1716 (quoted by Col. H. D. Love in his *Vestiges of old Madras*, Vol. II. p. 120) refers to the "Burial place, commonly call'd the Guava Garden." The "Guava Garden" and the "Tamarind Tree." Its site is now occupied by the Madras Law College. The "Bengall Tamarind Tree" is more difficult to locate. The burying ground of Fort William, which now forms the enclosure to St. John's Church, was certainly in use in 1707, for the Council in October of that year agreed to build a hospital on "a convenient spot close to the burial ground", and it contains the mausoleum of Job Charnock, which was erected in 1697. But the term "Tamarind Tree" is never applied to it, and Burnell knew Hooghly better than Calcutta. It is reasonable to conjecture that the reference is to an old burying-ground at Gholghat (Hooghly) which was the headquarters of the New Company until 1704. No allusion to the "Green Hill at Bencala" has been discovered in any description of Bencoolen or in the Sumatra Factory records: but the settlement in its early days was notorious for its excessive mortality.

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WHAT is the derivation of the word "buggy", which was in such familiar use in India a generation ago? The *New English Dictionary* leaves the etymology unsettled. But India is not the country of origin. There is an example in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1773 (Vol. xliii. p. 297): and later examples from the United States are common. In *Hobson-Jobson* an amusing story is told by Major General R. H. Keatinge, V. C. (1825-1904), the first Chief Commissioner of Assam (1874-78): "When the Hunterian spelling controversy raged in India, a learned member of Council is said to have stated that he approved of the change until someone started spelling buggy as *bagi*: then he gave it up."

The effort was a good one : but not so good as the unsuccessful attempt to convert Hookey tollah near False Point (named after a certain "Hookey" Walker) into Hukitala.

**E**IGHTEEN water-colour paintings by Samuel Davis, the artist-civilian friend of Thomas and William Daniell, have been lent for exhibition at the Victoria Memorial by the Director-General of Archaeology. These form part of a large collection which belonged to Sir Leicester Paul Beaufort (1853-1926) of Wynberg, Cape Colony, the great-grandson of Samuel Davis, and were prescribed by him in 1921 to Lord Curzon for distribution among various institutions in India. A number of them were given to the Victoria Memorial Hall, and a few to Government House Madras. Among those which have now been transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall from the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum mention may be made of a view of Nandeswar House, Benares, the scene of Samuel Davis's famous defence in January, 1799.

**A** BOOK of Indian travel which has been undeservedly forgotten in Capt. Francis Egerton's "Journal of a Winter's Tour in India with a visit to the Court of Nepaul", published in two volumes by John Murray in 1852. The writer, a captain (and subsequently an admiral) in the Royal Navy, was the second son of the first Earl of Ellesmere, and died in 1895 at the age of seventy one. He was M. P. for East Derbyshire from 1868 to 1886, and was the brother-in-law of Lord Hartington (the Eighth Duke of Devonshire). One of his companions in the visit to Nepal, which took place in 1851, was the future Lord Loch (1827-1900), who had been gazetted to the 3rd Bengal Cavalry in 1841, and was adjutant of Skinner's Horse in 1850. It was in that year (1850) that the famous Jung Bahadur came to England, and, no doubt, it was from him that Egerton and his companions obtained the much-coveted permission to cross the Nepalese border. At Khatmandu they stayed with the Hon. John Cadwallader Erskine (B. C. S. 1827-1853), the Resident, who succeeded to the family peerage as fourth Baron Erskine in 1877 and died in 1882. The account of Nepal and the Nepalese is full of interest. The Residency is described as "a particularly hideous building, standing in a tope of various kinds of trees, and has in its compound one or two other houses." Then, as now, the English population consisted of the Resident, his assistant and his family, and the doctor, who was then Henry Ambrose Oldfield (I.M.S. 1846-1868) and who published a volume of "Sketches of Nepal" in 1880. On their return journey to Segowlic, they met Jung Bahadur who was on his way back from Europe. In conversation with one of the Nepalese officers, Egerton learned that "the most interesting things



he had seen in England were the Thames Tunnel, the street gas-lights and the "carriage horses." The French, he said, showed them more troops than the English, but there were none anywhere to be compared with the Life Guards.

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WHILE in Calcutta Egerton witnessed an operation for the removal of a tumour from an Indian patient in a state of mesmeric sleep. Dr. James Esdaile was the surgeon and the operation was performed in the presence of Sir John Littler, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, "The patient suffered no pain, knew nothing of the operation until he was awakened, lost comparatively little blood, and was not weaker than usual after an operation of the kind." A most interesting account of Esdaile's experiments in procuring anaesthesia by means of mesmeric passes, was contributed by Col. D. G. Crawford, I.M.S., to *Bengal : Past and Present* in 1910 (Vol. V. pp. 52-54); and the following particulars are taken from it. The first experiment was made at the Hooghly Imambara Hospital on April 4, 1845; and in a period of eight months 73 operations were performed, including amputations and others of a major character. In November 1846 a mesmeric hospital was opened by the Government in Mott's Lane, Calcutta, but it was closed in January 1848. Esdaile then conducted his experiments at the Sukeas Street Dispensary, of which he was the Superintendent. The operation described by Egerton must have been among the last, as Esdaile went on furlough in June 1851 and retired in October 1858. He died at Sydenham in January 10, 1859, at the age of fifty one. His use of mesmerism in his surgical practice attracted much attention: but Sir James Simpson had already experimented with ether in 1846, and chloroform soon captured and held the field.

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